

Hayward, B.L.

378.744  
BO  
AM 1933  
hay

Boston University  
College of Liberal Arts  
Library

THE GIFT OF *The Author*

378.744

BO

AM 1933

hay

50252



BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

by

Bernice Lewis Hayward

(A.B., Boston University, 1923)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

1933

BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS  
LIBRARY

H.E.L.

50252



378.744  
B0  
AM 1933  
hay

ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

INDEX

Introduction.....	1
The Man Himself.....	1
Early Life.....	2
Education.....	3
Letter to Tolstoy.....	3
Malwida von Meysenbug.....	4
Doctorate Thesis.....	6
Cahiers de la Quinzaine.....	7
Manhood Hopes.....	8
Salvation of the European Spirit.....	9
Supreme Authority of Conscience.....	11
Pacifist Ideals in Rolland's Works.....	14
Jean Christophe.....	15
Colas Breugnon.....	20
Le Temps Viendra.....	21
Au-dessus de la Mêlée.....	24
Open Letter to Hauptmann.....	25
Pro Aris.....	26
Above the Battle.....	28
Lesser of Two Evils: Pangermanism or Pan- slavism.....	34





ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

INDEX

Inter Arma Caritas.....	35
To the people suffering for Justice.....	39
For Europe: Manifesto.....	41
An Appeal from Holland.....	41
Letter to Frederik Van Eedens.....	42
Our neighbor the enemy.....	43
Letter to Svenska Dagbladet of Stockholm.....	45
Murder of the Elite.....	46
Jaurès.....	48
Les Précurseurs.....	51
Route en lacets qui monte.....	52
Liluli.....	56
Clérambault.....	58
L'Ame Enchantée: Mère et Fils.....	61
World Reaction to Au-dessus de la Mêlée.....	62
Tempest in France.....	63
Controversy Abroad.....	71
Nobel Prize.....	78
Persecution of Rolland.....	79
Activities of French Government.....	80
Three Crimes of Rolland.....	81

REAR WHEEL, JULY 1919

INDEX

Letter to the Editor.....	1
The new building.....	2
The new building.....	3
The new building.....	4
The new building.....	5
The new building.....	6
The new building.....	7
The new building.....	8
The new building.....	9
The new building.....	10
The new building.....	11
The new building.....	12
The new building.....	13
The new building.....	14
The new building.....	15
The new building.....	16
The new building.....	17
The new building.....	18
The new building.....	19
The new building.....	20
The new building.....	21
The new building.....	22
The new building.....	23
The new building.....	24
The new building.....	25
The new building.....	26
The new building.....	27
The new building.....	28
The new building.....	29
The new building.....	30
The new building.....	31
The new building.....	32
The new building.....	33
The new building.....	34
The new building.....	35
The new building.....	36
The new building.....	37
The new building.....	38
The new building.....	39
The new building.....	40
The new building.....	41
The new building.....	42
The new building.....	43
The new building.....	44
The new building.....	45
The new building.....	46
The new building.....	47
The new building.....	48
The new building.....	49
The new building.....	50
The new building.....	51
The new building.....	52
The new building.....	53
The new building.....	54
The new building.....	55
The new building.....	56
The new building.....	57
The new building.....	58
The new building.....	59
The new building.....	60
The new building.....	61
The new building.....	62
The new building.....	63
The new building.....	64
The new building.....	65
The new building.....	66
The new building.....	67
The new building.....	68
The new building.....	69
The new building.....	70
The new building.....	71
The new building.....	72
The new building.....	73
The new building.....	74
The new building.....	75
The new building.....	76
The new building.....	77
The new building.....	78
The new building.....	79
The new building.....	80
The new building.....	81
The new building.....	82
The new building.....	83
The new building.....	84
The new building.....	85
The new building.....	86
The new building.....	87
The new building.....	88
The new building.....	89
The new building.....	90
The new building.....	91
The new building.....	92
The new building.....	93
The new building.....	94
The new building.....	95
The new building.....	96
The new building.....	97
The new building.....	98
The new building.....	99
The new building.....	100



ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

INDEX

Germany's Antipathy.....	84
Cooling of Switzerland's Affections.....	85
Summary.....	87
The Free Soul.....	89

FOUR FOLIO. 1-1112

1112

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

FOUR FOLIO



ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

OUTLINE

- INTRODUCTION    A.    The Man Himself
- a. Early Life
  - b. Manhood Hopes
    - 1. Salvation of the European Spirit
    - 2. Supreme Authority of Conscience
- BODY            B.    The Pacifist Ideals in Rolland's Works
- a. Pre-War
    - 1. Jean Christophe
    - 2. Colas Breugnon
    - 3. Le Temps Viendra
  - b. Wartime
    - 1. Au-dessus de la Mêlée
    - 2. Les Précurseurs
    - 3. La route en lacets qui monte
    - 4. Liluli
  - c. Post-War
    - 1. Clérambault
    - 2. L'Ame Enchantée, Mère et Fils

SECRET

SECRET

1. The first part of the document is devoted to a general survey of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

2. The second part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

3. The third part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

4. The fourth part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

5. The fifth part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

6. The sixth part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

7. The seventh part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

8. The eighth part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

9. The ninth part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.

10. The tenth part of the document is devoted to a detailed study of the situation in the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the present and past of the country. It is a very good example of the kind of work that can be done by a small group of people.



ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

OUTLINE

- C. The World Reaction to "Au-dessus de la Mêlée"
  - a. The Tempest in France
  - b. The Controversy Abroad
  - c. The Nobel Prize Award, November 9, 1916
- D. The Persecution of Rolland during the World War
  - a. The activities of the French Government
  - b. Germany's Antipathy
  - c. The Cooling of Switzerland's Affections
- E. The Free Soul

SUMMARY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

1. The first section of the document is the title page.
2. The second section is the introduction.
3. The third section is the body of the document.
4. The fourth section is the conclusion.
5. The fifth section is the appendix.
6. The sixth section is the bibliography.
7. The seventh section is the index.
8. The eighth section is the glossary.
9. The ninth section is the list of figures.
10. The tenth section is the list of tables.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Introduction      "De grands yeux bleus, d'un bleu de mer, graves  
The Man Him-      et purs, avec un regard d'aigle. Des yeux qui  
self      semblent ouverts pour planer sur les temps et les  
hommes. Des yeux infinis, des yeux humains comme  
aucuns autres. Dans le visage émacié, ces yeux  
sont tout,--la vie et l'esprit. Ils donnent le  
sentiment de l'âme....Visage inspiré, formé,  
dirait-on, par la vie de l'idée."(1) It is of  
such a soul that I would speak. These eyes, and  
this soul belong to a man of little concern in  
pre-war days, but who was undoubtedly the great  
martyr of the World War.

---

(1) " Big blue eyes, sea-blue, grave and pure,  
with an eagle's glance. Eyes which seem open to  
look down upon time and men. Eyes infinite, eyes  
human, like no others. In the emaciated face,  
these eyes are all,-life and soul. They express  
the meaning of the soul....A face inspired, one  
would say, by the life of the idea." Romain Rolland  
Vivant, 1914-1919, Cinquième Edition, Librairie  
P. Ollendorff, Paris, Page 2.

The first year of the war was a year of great  
struggle and sacrifice. The people of the United States  
were called upon to make great sacrifices in order to  
win the war. The government asked for more money and  
more resources. The people responded with a great  
spirit of cooperation. The war was won by the  
combined efforts of the American people and the  
armed forces. The war was a great triumph for  
the United States and for the world.

The war was a great triumph for the United States  
and for the world. The war was won by the  
combined efforts of the American people and the  
armed forces. The war was a great triumph for  
the United States and for the world. The war was  
won by the combined efforts of the American people  
and the armed forces. The war was a great triumph  
for the United States and for the world.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

## Early Life

The beginning of this man was simple and unheralded. It corresponded in many respects to that of "Jean Christophe", his greatest literary character. Like him, he was born in a drowsy house on a sluggish canal, whose lapping waters lulled him to slumber. This canal was, however, far from Germany, in Clamecy, in the Burgundian Nivernais.

His father was no indigent musician, but rather a promising notary from a long line of the same profession. The son Romain was imbued with the Revolutionary spirit inherited from his paternal ancestors and it was this same inheritance which gave him such strength in his hours of trial.

His mother, of the Jansenist faith, was deeply religious. It was she who taught him to see the beauty in life. At an early age he already had set up for himself three demi-gods, Shakespeare, Beethoven, and Wagner.

The household revolved about the son Romain. Seeing the impossibility of a liberal, well rounded education for his son in the sleepy, provincial town, the father unselfishly abandoned a successful profession and with his wife, son, and daughter Madeleine

1914-1915

The beginning of the year was marked by the  
arrival of the first of the new arrivals to the  
of the "Western" and the "Eastern" divisions.  
The first, he was born in a house on a hill  
and, these having been built in the  
This town was, however, the first of the  
in the European style.

His father was no industrialist, but rather  
a provincial notary from a town of the same  
region. The son, however, was a man of the  
industrial spirit inherited from his father's  
and it was this same industrial spirit which gave him such  
strength in his hour of trial.

His mother, of the French type, was deeply  
religious. It was she who taught him to see the  
beauty of life. At an early age he already had  
in for himself three gods: God, God, God.  
However, and again.

The new world revealed to him the son of  
being the responsibility of a liberal, well  
education for the son in the study, practical  
the father himself. He was a man of a  
reason and with his wife, son, and daughter.



# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

removed to the indifferent city of Paris to submerge his personality in a minor government office. Romain was entered at the Lycée Louis Le Grand.

## Education

There he made the acquaintance of Paul Claudel, who is now ambassador to the United States. These two became fast friends but later followed widely divergent paths. Claudel turned toward the Church and Mysticism, as is attested by his "L'Annonce faite à Marie", whereas Rolland sought satisfaction in Communism.

After three attempts at the examinations for entrance to the Ecole Normale Supérieure he finally matriculated, but only after having been threatened with the Ecole Polytechnique. At the Ecole Normale he devoted his time to history and geography. He became a member of one of those small groups of youthful idealists who band themselves together and who seem at the time to be of little importance, but of whom it is inevitable that the world will hear much later. This society was to stamp a decisive imprint upon his thought and destiny.

## Letter to Tolstoy

Suddenly out of the clear blue, Tolstoy hurled



JOHN F. BURNETT, 1814-1871

remained in the independent city of Baltimore to manage  
his newspaper in a minor government office. He  
was elected to the House of Representatives.

He made the acquaintance of John F. Kennedy,  
who is now ambassador to the United States. These  
two became fast friends and later followed similar  
dissemination paths. Kennedy turned toward the ocean  
and was elected as a member of the "Atlantic" Club  
in 1855, where he found a congenial association in  
company.

After this attempt at the examination for  
entrance to the Ecole Polytechnique he finally  
succeeded, but only after having been threatened  
with the Ecole Polytechnique. At the Ecole Polytechnique  
he devoted his time to history and geography. He  
became a member of one of those small groups of  
youthful associates who read the classics together  
and the same at the time of his little acquaintance  
but of whom it is inevitable that the world will  
hear much later. This society was to stand a  
decisive turning point in his thought and destiny.

Suddenly out of the blue John F. Kennedy

Letter to

Voltaire



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

a thunderbolt at his demi-gods, Shakespeare, Wagner, and Beethoven. The disillusioned youth, desperate and alone, wrote to Tolstoy a letter, in which he poured forth his disappointments. Months elapsed, and the solitary youth grew ashamed of his temerity and presumption. Finally, on October 14, 1887, came a thirty-eight page reply in which Tolstoy talked to Romain Rolland as an equal, and not as a master. In his letter he taught the youth that the pre-condition of every true calling is not love for art, but love for mankind. That alone is the value which binds men together. Only those who love their fellow creatures can hope as artists to do anything worth while. From this letter of Tolstoy sprang his whole work and his human authority, and from the same letter, Tolstoy begot his spiritual successor. Always from afar Rolland has had Tolstoy, as his guiding star.

Malwida von      On a traveling scholarship Romain Rolland went  
Meysenbug      to Rome for two years. While there, it was his good  
fortune to come under the influence of Fraulein  
Malwida von Meysenbug who at seventy was still a  
revolutionary idealist. This remarkable woman was

ROMAN HOLMAN, 1844-1918

a thunderbolt to the world, and the world was  
and Holman. The world was young, and  
and alone, wrote to Tolstoy a letter, in which he  
found forth his disappointment. He was alone,  
and a solitary youth grew out of his letter  
and presumption. Finally, on October 1, 1897, came  
a thirty-eight page reply in which Tolstoy related  
to Roman Holman as an equal, and not as a master.  
In his letter he taught the youth that the  
condition of every true calling is not love for  
but love for mankind. That alone is the value which  
binds men together. Only those who have this value  
can hope to assist in the work of the world.  
From this letter of Tolstoy came the whole  
work and his human equality, and from the word "equal"  
Tolstoy came his spiritual equality. After this  
letter Holman and Tolstoy, as his friends after  
him, on a traveling, scholarly Roman Holman went  
to Rome for the year. While there, it was his good  
fortune to come under the influence of Leo  
Tolstoy, who was spending the last years of his life  
in the solitude of his estate, Yasnaya Polyana.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

a companion of Kossuth, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Wagner, Liszt, Nietzsche, and Ibsen. Although he was but twenty-three years of age and she past her three score years and ten, a beautiful friendship sprang up between these two, wherein she set herself to confirm in him a high life-purpose. As a seal and consecration she took him to Bayreuth for one of the Wagnerian festivals. Of this woman he wrote later when he was tormented and goaded by his enemies, "That, in this torture, I have been able to keep my unalterable faith in the human fraternity, my love for love and my scorn for hate, is due to some women; to name only two,--to my mother, a Christian, who gave me from childhood the taste of the eternal,--and to the great European Malwida von Meysenbug, the pure idealist, whose serene old age was the friend of my adolescence. If one woman can save one man's soul, why cannot you save them all." (1)

---

(1) *Antigone éternelle*, Jus Suffragii, Londres, mai 1915;--*Demain*, Genève, janvier 1916.--*Les Précurseurs*, Librairie Ollendorff, 50 Chaussee d'Antin, Paris, 9e édition, Pages 22-23.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Doctorate  
Thesis

On June 19, 1895, at the age of twenty-nine, this artist, scholar, and musician presented as his doctorate thesis, "The Origin of the Modern Lyrical Drama," which thesis was sustained before the faculty of the Sorbonne. This was the first time that that conservative body had ever had presented to it a dissertation on music with the definite intention of acting as a corrective to the disdain with which music was held in comparison to the other arts. We should remember that Rolland is above all else a musician. The world has suffered a great loss because it has not left Romain Rolland free to devote his time to his music.

At the Ecole Normale he accepted the professorship in history. This professorship he manoeuvred into one whose terms were music. He still maintained this professorship when the Sorbonne later assimilated the Ecole Normale. Poverty, obscurity, and failure were his lot for the next dozen or fifteen years.

Then as Lucien Price expresses it, "Romain Rolland flings himself into an enterprise to rescue the drama from boulevard adultery, bring her back to



On June 15, 1915, at the age of 72 years,  
this artist, writer, and musician presented an  
address to the "Royal Academy of Music" in the  
British Museum, which should be mentioned because the  
history of the Academy. This was a very  
long and interesting story and was  
so it is interesting on many points. The  
history of the Academy as a corporation is the  
with which music is held in connection to the  
Academy. The Academy is a corporation and is  
also a trustee. The Academy has a great  
power because it has not felt the Academy has  
devoted his time to his music.  
At the Royal Academy he accepted the  
title of Master. The Academy is a  
body of men who have been elected. He will  
this profession when the Academy is  
the Royal Academy. He was, however, and  
were his for the last 10 or 15 years.  
Then he had a great success in  
offered him a great deal of money  
the same for the Academy which was



# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

her humble working class home, and make an honest woman of her." (1) He attempted to found a People's Theatre. Although the project failed he still had his professorship. He wrote at this time a cycle of plays of the French Revolution. These plays are still incomplete at the present time.

Cahiers de  
la Quin-  
zaine

As a deliberate gesture of faith he joined a group of young men, among whom was Péguy, in a literary venture, the "Cahiers de la Quinzaine." This magazine contained no advertising, was not at sale at regular agencies, and had little circulation except among students, literary-minded, and a few intellectuals. The contributors received no remuneration for their articles. For ten years all his work appeared in this obscure journal. In this magazine were published the ten volumes of "Jean Christophe."

His private life at this period appears as obscure as his literary ventures. His life battles appear to have been poverty, sex, and religion. In 1901, came the end of his marriage, after a brief nine years of wedded life. Little is known of this

---

(1) Saga Symphonic of Romain Rolland, Atlantic Monthly, January 1926, Page 73.



her humble work, and make an honest  
woman of her. (1) He attempted to found a people's  
Theater. Although the project failed he still had  
his professional life. He wrote at this time a series  
of plays of the French Revolution. These plays are  
still incomplete at the present time.

As a deliberate gesture of faith he joined a  
group of young men, known as the "Jeune Garde", in a  
literary venture, the "Revue de la Quinzaine".  
This magazine contained no advertising, was not at  
all as regular as a journal, and had little circulation  
except among students, literary-minded, and a few  
intellectuals. The contributors received no remunera-  
tion for their articles. For ten years all his work  
appeared in this obscure journal. In this manner he  
was published the ten volumes of "Œuvres complètes".  
His entire life at this period appears as  
obscure as his literary ventures. His life battles  
appear to have been poverty, sex, and religion. In  
1901, came the end of his marriage, after a bitter  
nine years of wedded life. Little is known of this



# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

break and his biographers, unlike those of America, show a nice reticence in dealing with this disastrous phase of his life. On the threshold of middle life, lone, poor, and homeless he was just ready for battle. For ten years he dropped from sight.

Had he died from the results of a severe motor accident in 1910, his name would have been obscure for all time. At that moment "Jean Christophe" was nearly completed and in two years time Romain Rolland was a world figure. The germ of "Jean Christophe", undoubtedly his best known work, came to him one evening in Rome when he, then but twenty-three, was walking on the Janiculum. When his epic arrived at the fifth book he found a publisher who was willing to take it, but before the original had been completed, translations were already made into English, German, and Spanish. He had become an international figure. On June 5, 1913, the French Academy awarded him "Le Grand Prix."

Manhood

Hopes

At forty-seven, Romain Rolland came down from his Mount of Vision. He carried with him a prophecy, - the spiritual unity of the western world. For fifteen





# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

years he had labored to portray to the world his manhood hopes by a medium it could understand. He had created the heroic protagonist of a new age and generation.

Salvation of            In 1914, the European spirit became hate. His  
the European works became dead; he alone remained the seed. Then  
Spirit            began one of the most prodigious feats of our age.  
A man dared take thought not of himself, but of  
Europe when Europe thought of nothing but fratricide.  
People who had never given Europe a thought now  
attacked a man because he, who had taught the precept  
"Love thy neighbor as thyself", refused to add fuel  
to the oncoming conflagration. In Lucien Price's  
"Saga Symphonic of Romain Rolland" we find the  
following apt quotation: "Rolland's mind has been  
an Araret of internationalism towering out of the  
European deluge of blood and fire." (1) Duty re-  
quires that those who claim intellectual and moral  
leadership should protect the spirit over which  
nothing has any right and "that they should lift the  
spirit of Europe above the tempest and disperse

---

(1) Id. Note (1), Page 7.







## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

the clouds that try to obscure it." (1) He felt that his duty was, with the help of those who believed as he, to save the wreck of European thought from the flood.

A glowing tribute is paid to Rolland in these words of Ernest Bloch: "Romain Rolland, l'un des très rares êtres qui surent conserver une vision claire, juste et humaine pendant les années de folie qui suivirent 1914! Meconnu et bafoué par l'ignorance, la sottise, la mauvaise foi, l'éternelle stupidité des hommes, au moment où la tourmente semblait avoir détruit tout vestige de raison, et tout espoir aussi.. il est resté droit et fidèle à l'Esprit de l'Europe et l'Humanité. Ce grand Visionnaire ne sera reconnu que beaucoup plus tard, lorsque les hommes ont jamais, la sagesse d'organiser normalement, logiquement, honnêtement, la vie de notre Planète." (2)

---

(1) Dial, Volume 60, March 16, 1916, Page 278.

(2) Romain Rolland, one of the very rare beings who knew how to keep a vision, clear, just, and humane during the years of madness which followed 1914.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Supreme                      To Rolland, conscience is supreme. He feels  
 Authority of that no impulse to save one's country should be per-  
 Conscience                  mitted to extinguish one's sense of charity toward  
                                  one's enemies. He once said, "I am only freer to  
                                  judge all things, and freedom of soul is dearer to  
                                  me than happiness itself." (1)

---

Note 2, Page 10 (continued).

Scorned and scoffed at by the ignorance, folly, the  
 bad faith, the eternal stupidity of men, at a moment  
 when torment seemed to have destroyed every vestige  
 of reason and all hope also.....he remained upright  
 and faithful to the Spirit of Europe and Humanity.  
 The great Visionary will be known only much later  
 when men ever have the wisdom to organize normally,  
 logically, honestly, the life of our Planet."

Liber Amicorum Romain Rolland, Copyright 1926 by  
 Rotapfel-Verlag Zurich und Leipzig.

(1) "The Author Above the Battle", Literary Digest,  
 Volume 58, July 27, 1918, Page 23.

ROMAN ROMAN, 1914-1915

...the Roman, ... is ... He ...  
...of ... to ... country ...  
...to ... one's ...  
...one's ... He ...  
...all ... and ... is ...  
... (1)

... (continued).  
... and ... of ...  
... the ... of ...  
... when ...  
... of ...  
... and ...  
... The ...  
... when ...  
... logically, ...  
...  
...  
... (1) "The ..."  
... 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Rolland has always condemned the part the Intellectuals played in the last war. Nor is he alone, for Pierre Hamp in paying tribute to Rollain maintains that writers must learn that war is not necessary to the welfare of men. Deeds not words are what the world needs and Rolland furnishes the example in that he has founded the true European Spirit. He has been insulted, accused of treason, but today it must be seen that he is the forerunner of the philosophy and of the policy that Europe must adopt if she does not wish to perish. Rolland has made a beginning for this European Spirit. Political boundaries do not make a Europe nor artillery maintain it. Such a condition makes for an anti-Europe. There is, however, a European Spirit of which Romain Rolland is one of its greatest founders. Everything is spirit. Let us hope that there may be someday a Europe!

Mathias Morhardt salutes Romain Rolland because he was the only one among the Intellectuals of his country who gave proof of supreme moral courage in saying "No" to the appeals of the malevolent





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

politicians who pitted nations one against the other, and who dragged millions of men to the massacre.

This supreme authority of conscience he kept faithfully during his great ordeal. His conscience cherished the ideal of internationalism. Human fraternity had to prevail over outworn creeds of nationalism and individualism. Almost alone among Intellectuals "he has kept his moral integrity without compromise, in the face of calumny and insult unstinted." (1) It was because of this conscience that he has been called "L'homme libre." (2) He held his ego, personality, and self-earned beliefs staunchly in opposition to the world, and times, and mankind. He fought unceasingly against the world. He suffered for

---

(1) Dial, March 16, 1916, "Inter Arma Caritas", Waldo R. Brown, Page 278, Volume 60.

(2) "The free man."

philosophy who fitted nature one against the  
other, and who strayed alike of men to the

answer:

This supreme authority of conscience he first  
taught during his great oration. His conscience  
cherished the ideal of humanitarianism. Human  
fraternity led to prevail over every obstacle of  
nationalism and individualism. Almost every man  
intellectuals "he has kept his moral integrity with  
out compromise, in the face of calumny and insult.  
unfettered." (1) It was because of this conscience  
that he has been called "the conscience of the world." (2) He said  
his age, personality, and self-gained beliefs strongly  
in opposition to the world, and time, and mankind. He  
fought incessantly against the world. He suffered for

---

(1) "The Conscience of the World," *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1915, p. 148.  
R. Bolle, p. 148, volume 50.  
(2) "The Conscience of the World," *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1915, p. 148.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

his freedom but this "hero who has never sought the favor of his contemporaries will earn the grateful admiration of posterity." (1)

Pacifist  
Ideals in  
Rolland's  
Works

Alvan F. Sanborn, an American correspondent in Paris in pre-war days, described "Jean Christophe" as a detailed account of a man's life from his cradle to his grave, a scathing arraignment of society both French and German, a discussion of vexed problems, a treatise on ethics and a prose epic of suffering to which no man will take exception. As regards its musical theme he ably called it a narrative of evolution of a musical genius, a ~~paen~~<sup>a</sup> to music, and a critique of composers. He ended by describing it as

---

(1) "Le héros qui n'a jamais cherché la faveur de ses contemporains gagnera l'admiration reconnaissante de la postérité".--Liber Amicorum Romain Rolland, Copyright 1926 by Rotapfel-Verlag Zurich und Leipsig. Page 217. Author-Selma Lagerlof.

the freedom but this "hero who has never fought" is

favor of his contemporaries will earn the greatest

admiration of posterity." (1)

Alvin W. Belmont, an American contemporary

in Paris in the war days, described "John Galsworthy"

as a detailed account of a man's life from his childhood

to his grave, a meeting arrangement of society both

French and German, a discussion of vexed problems

a treatise on ethics and a cross epic of suffering to

which no man will take exception. As regards its

artistic value he said it is a narrative of events

tion of a human being, a man so much so that

existence of characters. He ends by denouncing it as

(1) "The hero and his family whom he never sees

see contemporary Germany's industrial revolution

he is 'Galsworthy'." -- Albert Einstein, Robert Weland

Copyright 1934 by Robert Weland Verlag Berlin and Leipzig

Page 217. Author-Editor-Printer



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

"a barrel of sermons, a storehouse of dissertations, and a blaze of aspirations." (1) After the foreign countries had been at sword's points for more than a year this same Alvan Sanborn remarked that what was "Lyricism of '12 is flubdub of '15." (2) How well Romain Rolland was visualizing the future of Europe in this great epic but few knew.

Rolland's ambition in life has been to create a better understanding between all nations, or to be more exact, between European nations. Nationalism and Chauvinism have no place in Rolland's scheme of life. Internationalism to him is the only means of saving Europe.

"Jean Chris- In hope of bringing home this idea, "Jean Chris-  
tophe" was conceived and born of the brain of Rolland  
when he was but a young man. Later in life over a  
stretch of ten years this idea germinated into a

---

(1) Century, Volume 86, August 1913, -Article by  
Alvan T. Sanborn, Page 512.

(2) Literary Digest, Volume 51, December 25, 1915,  
Page 1477.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

living organ--it became the nucleus of the great epic "Jean Christophe." The name itself was symbolical--Christophorus--"The bearer of a burden." According to the legend Offero lifted the child burden to his shoulders and started across the stream. As the water mounted in crossing the stream of life, he discovered that his burden became heavier. Just as he was about to sink under its weight, he reached the other side. To his astonishment he realized he had been carrying the Christ, or the truth of the world, hence the name Christophorus.

Born without material wealth the little Jean Christophe from his very birth is misunderstood. In the discordant household in which he finds himself a member, his sole consolation is music. Even this loses its meaning when he is exploited by Melchior, his lazy and drunken father. Not only in his home life, but also in his love life he meets disappointment. His first love affairs are either sordid or idealistic while his last nearly costs him an untimely death from which shame he is saved by the





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

unexpected clogging of a gun. Involved in a shooting affray with a German officer he becomes an exile. He flees to Paris, leaving behind his mother, saddened by the degrading death of Jean's father, and the thoughtlessness of her sons.

In Paris, heartsore and weary, he meets another lonely soul, Olivier. Olivier is the most like Romain Rolland himself of any of the other characters. In "La Revolte" (1) he is at odds with his own environment, in "La Foire sur la Place" (2) he denounces the abuses covered by the word "Art" in Paris. There in Paris he expects to find understanding, refinement, culture, and appreciation of his art. Instead he finds intolerance, bigotry, and political scheming. There, too, he realizes the great importance of money upon the arts. In his "La Foire sur la Place" he bitterly realizes how great has been his disillusion. His native Germany wishes none of him and he, in turn, wishes none of his adopted land. Like Romain

---

(1) The Revolt.

(2) The Market Place.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Rolland, Jean Christophe experiences broken faith, disillusionment, and regret, yet his soul is still rebellious, still free. The war threatens.

The relationship between Olivier and Jean Christophe is strained, but love triumphs,--it is greater than princes or principalities. It is then that Olivier tells his friend, "I love my country. I love it just as you love yours. But am I for this reason to betray my conscience, to kill my soul? This would signify the betrayal of my country. I belong to the army of the spirit, not to the army of force." (1) In this spirit does Rolland himself speak when the supreme test comes.

There remains the last great experience of Jean Christophe's life. His love idyll with Grazia.

---

(1) Romain Rolland, The Man and His Work by Stefan Zweig. Published by Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1921, Page 198.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Three great souls have given Jean Christophe an international understanding: Uncle Gottfried the German uncle, Louisa's brother, the simple, the true, the kind, the real soul of the great German race; Olivier, the sensitive Frenchman who sees beyond geographical boundaries; and late in life comes Grazia who opens his weary eyes to that which is spiritual and beautiful in Italy. The three characters can be duplicated in any nation if we will but lay aside provincialism and petty differences. When the weary Christophe, thwarted in his vain attempts to look beyond his country and his time, dies unsung, he dies the richer because he no longer is of a country, but of the world. This is the romance of a generation, an effort to reconcile Europe, an intellectual criticism of society, and an expression of a moral faith in the regeneration of Europe, a common ideal and spirit.

Before his death he foresees the great European conflagration. It is already reddening the sky with its angry glow. He sees famine and slaughter, Christ again crucified and his followers consumed, yet





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

European statesmen go on heaping, fiendishly and craftily, lies and propaganda upon the common bonfire. Jean Christophe dies disillusioned, but not despairing, crying out warning and wisdom to ears that hear not.

Jean Christophe is a portrait of an entire generation and is based on world unity and international understanding. In the ten volumes Rolland tries to show the human soul growing toward universal sympathy. It is the last will and testament of an age that perished August 2, 1914.

Colas  
Breugnon

Although Jean Christophe is the best known work of Rolland and the most criticized there is a little gem of Rabelaisian humor which Romain Rolland wrote in an abrupt seizure of creative energy after the long strain of "Jean Christophe." After the release from the terrific strain of the ten volume "Jean Christophe" the delightful "Colas Breugnon" invites one to laugh, by no means at, but with the joyous hero. Colas is a simple woodcarver who takes life's ups and downs. Early in life he is disappointed in love. As often happens in such cases he finally marries a nagging wife. During a raid of the king's





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

soldiers his house is burned. His house is his castle. Illness follows, his finest work is mutilated. He lives to see social upheaval, financial ruin, and physical disablement. The final humiliation comes, he has to accept shelter in the house of his children. Through all his disappointments shine faith, optimism, and joy.

"Colas Breugnon" was in type when the great conflict broke out in 1914. Rolland quickly sensed the situation and realized that "Colas Breugnon" was no book to thrust upon a suffering world. Therefore it did not appear in print until 1919, when its appearance was most welcome. Lucien Price of the Boston Globe calls it a "Chaucerian April of laughter" and his most perfect work.

Le Temps  
Viendra

In 1903, long before the great world drama, there appeared in the "Cahiers de la Quinzaine" a war drama of conscience staged amid a war in the material world. This drama "Le Temps Viendra" (1) is decidedly antimilitaristic. So much so that,

---

(1) "The Time will come."





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

although Romain Rolland wished to reprint it during the World War he dared not do so for fear that "parties" might use, as a polemic weapon, this work written ten years before. It was directed not against one nation, but against all Europe. It is a bitter accusation of statesmen and war. It is in reality based on the Boer War which no man of any nationality, even of England the aggressor, can condone.

Clifford is the real hero. He is torn between duty and conscience. Then there is the cynic, whose only desire is the profit of his country, the army sportsman, those who are blindly led like sheep, and the sentimentalist who shuts his eyes to the realistic and painful.

The background to these figures is the lying spirit of contemporary civilization, with its neat phrases to justify every outrage, so exactly duplicated by Germany ten years later, the factories built on tombs, as well as the profiteers fattening themselves like vultures on the carcasses of the soldier dead.

The true hero is not General Clifford but the



U  
S  
N  
A  
T  
I  
O  
N  
A  
L  
A  
R  
M  
Y



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

free spirit as manifested in the Italian volunteer who fights for personal liberty regardless of flag, and in the Scottish peasant who lays down his rifle with "Je n'assassine plus." (1) These men have no other fatherland than their conscience, no other home than their humanity.

In the struggle between the world power and the little band of Dutch farmers, no personal enmity existed. It was the desire for expansion and the greed for gold on the part of the stronger which ground out with militaristic heel the life blood of the innocent. Owen, the Scottish lad, far from home, forced to combat men who should be his brothers, men of equal intelligence, harassed by conscience, sums up the theme of the entire play in these words "The time will come when all men will know the truth, when they will melt the pikes into scythes, sabres

---

(1) Le Temps Viendra, Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 50 Chaussée d'Antin Paris, Nouvelle Edition, Act II Page 116. "I will kill no longer."





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

into ploughshares and when the lion will lie down with the lamb.--The time will come." (1)

The threat of war with its sorrow and suffering always laid heavy on Rolland's heart. In 1902, when this play was written, the careless Europeans gaily sang and danced away their life with but a casual thought for death so far away, yet one man, unknown and alone, reading the handwriting on the wall gave warning to ears that would not hear.

Au-dessus  
de la mêlée

When on August 2, 1914, the great war broke out in Europe, Rolland did not hastily condemn his adversaries unheard. No Frenchman does that, for whoever does so, fears the light. He, the only Intellectual who had actually realized that the war was inevitable, did not lose his head. To him there were two Germanies, the militaristic and the intellectual; the one, the false; the other, the true. No capitalistic, and militaristic aspect could make him

---

(1) Ibid. Note(1), Page 23. Act III, Page 149.

ROBERT ROLLAND, 1884-1918

into place and then the life of the town  
with the land. -- The time will come. (1)  
The threat of war with the north and south  
always lay heavy on Rolland's heart. In 1905, when  
this play was written, the situation between  
and the French was tense, life with but a casual  
thought for death so far away, yet one man, unknown  
and alone, reading the newspaper on the wall gave  
warning to come that would not hear.

When on August 5, 1914, the great war broke out  
in Europe, Rolland did not hastily condemn his  
countrymen. He Frenchman knew that the  
however does so, tears the light. He, the only  
reflected who had actually realized that the war was  
inevitable, did not lose his head. To live there  
were two dangers, the militaristic and the intellec-  
tual; the one, the other, the true. He  
militaristic, and intellectual aspect could make him

(1) *Rolland*, page 23. Act III, scene 1.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

hate his intellectual Germany. He kept his counsel, said little and watched developments. His original purpose was to keep aloof from the combat to which he was so adverse.

However, man proposes and God disposes. The atrocities perpetrated in Belgium by the Germans, demanded speech. Even then he had faith in the intellectuals. Accordingly he wrote an open letter to Hauptmann.

Open Letter  
to Haupt-  
mann

The open letter to Gerhart Hauptmann directed the world's attention momentarily from its carnage to a hitherto practically unknown man. Here was a man who dared announce that war sprang from the weakness and stupidity of nations, of France as well as of Germany. The content of this letter follows.

Germany is warring on the dead and on the glories of past ages, as attested by the raids on Malines, Rubens and Louvain. Against such desecration Rolland entreats Hauptmann to protest. If he fails to do so Rolland will infer that he approves of what is being done and that he is powerless to raise a protest over the Huns who command him. This protest was published







## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

as an open letter.

Instead of apology and a contrite heart which Romain Rolland expected, Hauptmann not only made no excuses, but openly approved of such actions. From then on various articles appeared from time to time in divers magazines and pamphlets. Fewer and fewer magazines would accept them as their tone became more and more of a pacifist tenor until at last only the socialist papers or Swiss publishers would print them. To adequately understand these articles, then considered treason and now considered axioms, and to realize the price Rolland paid for his pacifist ideal of brotherly love, it will be necessary to relate in detail the contents of these articles which heaped such abuse upon his head.

Pro Aris

The article following "An open letter to Hauptmann" was "Pro Aris". In this article he chooses to protest against the crimes committed against things and not against men. A piece of architecture like Rheims is much more than one life; it is a people with their memories of joy, glory, and grief. Whoever destroys this murders more than one man; he

ROLAND, 191-1918

as an open letter.

Instead of respect and a cordial letter which

Roland Roland expected, Hausmann not only did not

answer, but openly expressed his contempt for the

idea of various articles appeared from time to time

in diverse magazines and newspapers. First and foremost

magazines would accept them as their own property

more and more of a socialist paper until it was

the socialist paper to which Hausmann would write

them. To adequately understand these articles, they

should be read in the original German, and it

will be the same for the English reader.

of protest, however, it will be necessary to refer to

detail the contents of these articles which would

each of these in its own way.

The article following "An open letter to

Hausmann" was "The article". In this article he makes

no protest against the article as such, but rather

and not against him. A speech of introduction is

made to which he is invited; it is a people

with their enemies of the left, right, and center.

Every day there are more and more of them, and he



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

murders the purest soul of the race. He feels sure that none of the moral and intellectual elite of Germany suspect the crimes of the government such as the atrocities in Flanders, those in the north and east of France during the first two or three weeks of the war, and the voluntary devastations of the towns of Belgium, and the ruin of Rheims. The worst and vilest crime of Prussian Imperialism is to have concealed this, for it has deprived the intellectuals of the means of protesting against these atrocities and has involved them forever in the responsibility. By blind loyalty and culpable trustfulness they have rushed head foremost into the net which Imperialism has spread.

Their first duty is to defend the honor of the state, and the noblest means of defending it is to avow its faults and to cleanse their country of them. The criminal determination of ninety-three intellectuals not to wish to see the truth will have cost Germany more than ten defeats. These intellectuals boast of the destruction of Rheims. By extolling force and despising the weak, the intellectuals are

murders the purest soul of the race. He feels sure  
that none of the moral and intellectual elite of  
Germany respected the ethics of the government and  
as the atrocities in Theresienstadt, those in the north  
and east of France during the first and second years  
of the war, and the voluntary lowest class of the towns  
of Belgium, and the ruin of Russia. The worst and  
vilest crime of human imperialism is to have con-  
cealed this, for it has deceived the intellectuals  
of the world at protecting against these atrocities  
and has involved them forever in the responsibility.  
By blind loyalty and capable friendship they have  
turned their backs into the net which imperialism  
has spread.

Their first duty is to defend the honor of the  
state, and the noblest means of defense is to  
show the faults and to cleanse their country of them.  
The original determination of ninety-three states  
was not to risk to see the truth with any cost.

Germany rose then for victory. The fatal mistake  
was of the destruction of Russia. By attacking  
Russia and Germany the west, the international



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

leading into the ditch their own nation. Such arguments as "War is war" and "Germany is Germany" are poor ones. Prussian Imperialism has pulled over the Intellectuals' eyes its spiked helmet.

The conquered Belgians have robbed Germany of her glory, for victory below often means defeat above. The German nation is composed of two races; first, those born to respect and obey the law; and second, a race which commands and believes itself above all laws and which makes and unmakes them in the name of force and necessity. This evil marriage of idealism and German force leads to disaster, but there exists another Germany juster and more humane whose ambition is to absorb in peace everything great in the thought of other races.

Above the  
Battle

Following close upon this condemnation of German methods came the thunderbolt "Above the Battle" or in its original title "Au-dessus de la Mêlée." The heresy of 1914 has become the same viewpoint of the bleeding and broken world of 1933. In his just and reasonable words he states that the young men are making enemies of those who should be their





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

brothers. All of them are marching to death. It is a "war of revenge" in no spirit of Chauvinism, but revenge of faith against the egotisms of the senses and the spirit. It is a surrender of self to eternal ideas.

One of the most powerful of young French novelists whom Romain Rolland called Corporal X said "History will tell of us, for we are opening a new era in the world. We are dispelling the nightmare of the materialism of a mailed Germany and of armed peace. It will fade like a phantom before us; the world seems to breathe again." (1) Another young man said, "A splendid thing it is to fight with clean hands and a pure heart, and to dispense divine justice with one's life." (2) These young men have done their duty but have others done their's? What ideal has been held up to the devotion of these youths so eager to sacrifice

---

(1) Above the Battle, The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago and London, 2nd Edition, 1916, Page 39 :

(2) Id. Note (1) Page 40.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

themselves?--Mutual slaughter, a European war! Is our civilization so solid we do not fear to shake the pillars on which it rests? If nations do not love one another, at least they should tolerate the great virtues and vices of one other.

Our duty is to attempt that which never has been attempted sincerely; to settle amicably the questions which divide nations. The questions involve the annexing of peoples against their will, and the equitable division of the productive labor and the riches of the world. It would be well if the echos of these solutions might reach the ears of the masters of Manchukuo and those endeavoring to solve our own great economic problems!

Can this bloody and childish sport of centuries have no end? The rulers who are the criminal authors of these wars accept no responsibility for them. Each ruler tries to lay the blame at the other fellow's door and the people resign themselves submissively to the thought that a power higher than mankind has ordained war; thus the fatality of war becomes stronger than their wills. Man has invented fate that he may





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

make it responsible for the disorders of the universe--those disorders which it is his duty to regulate.

Church and Labor leaders did not desire war. They taught the doctrine of the Prince of Peace, yet when war threatened and finally broke out they did nothing to prevent it. The most striking feature of this war is the unanimity for war in each of the nations engaged. Whatever the result may be, a mutilated Europe is certain to emerge. Each nation sees its own faults in the other nation, and each one calls the other barbarian.

These two moral forces, Church and Socialism show themselves to be the weakest of all the moral forces. These religious and secular Internationalists have developed into the most ardent of Nationalists. Socialists will die for country but not for their cause, and the Christians preach "Thou shalt not kill" and "Love one another", musket in hand. The whole idea of this article is ably expressed in this quotation from Rolland. "Love of my country does not demand that I shall hate and slay those noble and faithful souls who also love theirs, but rather that I should honor them

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT, 1914-1915

It is a common mistake to think of the universe

as a collection of things which are in the same way of

being and doing. It is not so. It is a

process, a flow, a becoming. It is the

process of things which are in the same way of

being and doing. It is not so. It is a

process, a flow, a becoming. It is the

process of things which are in the same way of

being and doing. It is not so. It is a

process, a flow, a becoming. It is the

process.

These two great forces, Christ and Socialism

show themselves to be the greatest of all the world

forces. These religious and secular internationalists

have developed into the great forces of internationalism.

Christians will not be for Christ, but not for their

religion, and the Christians will not be for their

religion, and the Christians will not be for their

religion, and the Christians will not be for their

religion, and the Christians will not be for their

religion, and the Christians will not be for their

religion, and the Christians will not be for their

religion, and the Christians will not be for their



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

and seek to unite with them for our common good." (1) Undoubtedly this is the one quotation upon which his opponents based their unwarranted and cruel attacks.

Here is the Christian's argument for war:

First, it exalts the virtue of sacrifice; second, it brings out genius in humblest of hearts; third, it purges away in the bath of blood all dross and impurity and lastly, it tempers metal and soul of a niggardly peasant and timorous citizen. Is there not a better employment for the devotion of one people than the devastation of another? Pope Pius is said to have died of grief to see the outbreak of the World War and not without reason.(2)

The French, English, and Germans all are brothers. They as individuals do not hate each other. It is the war-preaching press, envenomed by a minority in-

---

(1) Ibid. Note (1) Page 29, Reference, Page 47.

(2) Benedict XV spoke of war as "a disgraceful butchery." From the article by Gustave Dupin in "Liber Amicorum Romain Rolland." Id. Page 11.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

terested in maintaining hatred that instills this poison in their souls. The real tragedy is that each of the nations is being menaced in its dearest of possessions, honor, independence and life. It is the governments of Austria, Russia, and Germany who are guilty. Their worst enemy, which none has the courage to fight, is within their own frontiers, namely: Imperialism.

Of these three nations Prussia is the most dangerous. It is a curse, not only to the rest of the world, but to itself. This imperialism must be destroyed. Every nation has imperialism to a greater or lesser extent. It may be military, financial, feudal, republican, social, or intellectual. Whichever it may be it is an octopus sucking the best blood of Europe.

Our first duty is a formation of a moral High Court with a committee of inquiry of neutral nations. Such a court was the dream of Woodrow Wilson, our war president. It materialized, but in the recent Chinese-Japanese conflict, we find it helpless to







## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

act because of Japan's refusal to bide by its decisions. It, too, has become but a scrap of paper. He closes this article with the words, "For finer spirits there are two dwelling places, the earthly fatherland and the City of God. Of one, we are the guests, of the other the builders." (1)

Lesser of           The next article to appear was entitled "The  
Two Evils:       Lesser of Two Evils: Pangermanism or Panславism."  
Pangerman-       Rolland wrote that to judge a nation, a nation must  
ism or Pan-       be understood. Although understanding will not sup-  
славism       press conflict, it will suppress hatred and hatred  
                  is the enemy more than anything else. To the French,  
                  English and the men of the west barbarous despotism  
                  is Prussia but to Germany, barbarous despotism is  
                  Russia. However, the crimes of Czarism never found  
                  a defender among the great artists, scholars and  
                  thinkers of Russia.

For the Latins, nothing is more difficult to endure than the militarization of intellect. If such a spirit is triumphant Romain Rolland will leave

---

(1) Id. Note (1) Page 29, Reference, Page 54.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Europe for ever. Germans are the same everywhere in the work of conquest and domination, they are wholly without scruples. One cannot justly refer to Russians as barbarous. Germans who do so have less right than anyone else. The vindictive nature of the Germans can be judged by the reply the Letts gave when the Germans asked for the job of punishing them. The Letts preferred the Russians because the Germans always inflicted the punishment of death.

Inter

Arma Car-  
itas

In his "Inter arma caritas" he says that the Germans seem to be overcome by a morbid exaltation, a collective madness for which there is no remedy but time. Rolland hates war but even more those who glorify it without taking part. This group is found both in Germany and in France and is composed of those professors who work up the feelings to a frenzied pitch with exhortations and songs and then send the flower of manhood to be mowed down by machine guns while they sit at home safe, comfortable, and well fed. Patriotic speeches and songs are merely a hypodermic to deaden the suffering the soldiers are to undergo.

It is interesting to note in this connection





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

a portion of a tribute written to Rolland in 1926 by L. M. Larreguy de Civrieux. He wrote that: if the vast majority of men were persuaded of the absurdity as well as the abomination of war, they would refuse to fight for governments and profiteers. If the latter still wanted war they should be made to fight among themselves and the war would not be renewed for lack of combatants.. This writer like Clérambault had bullied a son to the Argonne and to death.

However dark the atmosphere may be, there is, however, a gleam of hope for the future. Both sides are less cruel to the wounded than in previous wars. Even the prisoners are friendly. It is only among those not actively engaged that the harsh and implacable brand of hatred is developed, of which hatred certain intellectuals furnish horrible examples.

Disinterested persons are working as long as twelve hours a day in the "Agence Internationale des prisonniers de guerre" (1) to care for the 15,000 or

---

(1) International Agency of Prisoners of War.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

more letters a day that pass through the hands of this agency. It transmits about 7,000 letters between prisoners of both sides and their families. In addition, it cares for those families stranded in Europe when the Great War broke out, by finding them shelter and arranging for money transfers.

The Agency has been responsible for the safe dispatch of some 4,000 francs on an average. It deals with 1000 cases in the course of a day. These cases increase daily with the more complete lists from the governments concerned. Intercourse between prisoner and family is renewed through the patient painstaking care of the workers.

Its impartial knowledge contributes to modify hatred which wild stories have excited and reveals what remains of humanity in the most envenomed enemies. The workers draw attention to the seriously wounded who can no longer fight and whom it is useless and inhuman to keep languishing from their friends. This agency directs the public generosity of those who hesitate for want of proper guidance, while the neutral countries are enabled to place their help where





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1918

needed.

The civil prisoners need help also. In the last half of July Germany ordered the arrest of a number of Alsatian civilians, whereas France, the day after mobilization, declared all Germans and Austrians in her territory prisoners. The conquest of Belgium and the north of France brought about an increase of these conditions. Germany after the French defeat on the Marne made a clean sweep of the villages of Picardy and Flanders. Five hundred men were taken at Douai and eighteen hundred at Amiens.

In view of these conditions Dr. Ferrière founded a special department in the Red Cross. Rolland who was forty-eight and past military service age, and in ill health was naturally exempt from compulsory service, nevertheless he wished to serve and here was his opportunity. He joined the agency. The first letter he wrote was to comfort some good people in his own little town in the Nivernais.

In writing of this agency Rolland said that great progress had been made. The governments had agreed to liberate women and children under seventeen and





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

men over sixty. Repatriation began on October 23, 1914, through the Bureau of Berne created by the Federal Council.

What object have the rasping cries of hate in the press? While wishing to punish crime they are a crime in themselves. Murderous words are seed of future murder. The war has gone too far to be stopped but it can be made less bitter by excluding hatred.

To the

people suf-  
fering for  
Justice

Then came "To the people that is suffering for Justice." Belgium's stand was the liberation of the oppressed and became the idealism of the West. In all his four articles Romain Rolland maintains that the Prussian Military Imperialism is the worst of all the plagues which scourge the world, as well as the enemy of Western Civilization, European Liberty, and of Germany herself. The critics refuse to include the German people, and the military and intellectual rulers in the same denunciation, and it is for this reason that he has esteem and friendship for the individuals in the country which is at war.

In closing he states that it is a moral and political error to rouse energies of a nation toward





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

the crushing of another nation. War should be made against a state, not a people. In saving the world we should save our enemies too. Therefore, all the bridges should not be cut down, for some day the river will have to be crossed.

The Idols of the countries at war are Nationality and Religion. In Germany there is Krupp, whose religion is Kultur. He is surrounded by his Levites, the thinkers of Germany. The common feature of the cult of all idols is the adaptation of an ideal to the evil instincts of mankind. Ostwald preached the victory of Kultur, by force if necessary, while Mann proved that Kultur is force.

In Rolland's mind the whole of Germany will be made responsible for a few writers whom she will some time realize to be her deadliest enemies. So much for Germany. In France Romain Rolland is not proud of his own Intellectuals whose idols are Race, Civilization, or Latinity. Such idols do not satisfy him, for intelligence of the mind is nothing without that of the heart, without good sense, and humor.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

For Europe:           Then came the "For Europe: Manifesto of the  
Manifesto           Writers and Thinkers of Catalonia" in which he  
states that he will begin by giving the greatest  
possible publicity to those actions, declarations,  
and manifestations whether they emanate from  
belligerent or neutral nations, in which the effort  
of reviving the feeling of a higher unity and a gen-  
erous altruism may become apparent.

An Appeal           In his "An appeal from Holland to the intellec-  
from           tuals of all nations" the object of the Nederlansche  
Holland           Anti-Oorlog Raad (Dutch Anti-War Council) is explained  
as the study of the conditions in which a just, humane,  
and durable peace can be realized. This peace will  
secure for Europe a long future of fruitful tran-  
quility and of common work, as well as interesting  
the public opinion of all nations in securing such  
a peace. Its aim is also to abolish secret diplomacy,  
and to endeavor to obtain a larger control of foreign  
affairs by Parliaments. The prohibi<sup>ti</sup>on of special ar-  
manent industries is urged. The point most stressed  
by this council is the establishment of the elementary  
principle of international law; that is, that no





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

country shall be annexed without the freely expressed consent of the population.

Rolland feels that the less said the more easily the breach can be mended and international relations resumed. The excitement of national passions will be responsible for the longer duration of the war. Because he desired an early termination of the war the term "Defeatist" became associated with him. The popular view was that a relentless campaign should be carried into the heart of the conquered enemies' country. Revenge knows no quarter in Rolland's mind. Then, as now, he desired a speedy peace so that the harm done might be the more easily mended.

Letter to  
Frederik  
Van Eeden

In this vein of thought, the desire for early peace, he wrote his "Letter to Frederik Van Eeden." He urges that they try to unite permanently all such organizations that aim to re-establish the peace of Europe. So that war may be as little productive of evil as possible, the peace of the future must be just. The greed of the conqueror and the intrigues of diplomacy must not make a new war of revenge. The moral crimes committed in the past must not be repeated





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

to stain darker the record of humanity. As we look back to the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles in 1919, we wonder what would be the result if such men as Rolland and his followers had drafted the Treaty? Would France and Germany still eye each other askance? Would France have defaulted her debt to the United States? Would distrust, greed and hatred still invade the hearts of the nations of the world? Was the Treaty drafted by diplomats or humanitarians? Each sincere lover of peace knows the true answer.

Our neigh-  
bor the  
enemy

"Our neighbor the enemy" appeared March 15, 1915, in the Journal de Genève. As we already know the publishers in France had long since refused to accept, let alone publish, any of Rolland's articles. This article was naturally unpopular because no trace of nationalism was found in it. In this article we can see exactly where Rolland stood at that moment. Whoever insists, in the midst of war, upon defending peace among nations risks his peace, reputation and friends. Of what value is a belief for which no risks are run? In spite of the vast losses occasioned by the battles, there is still a greater and





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

more savage army--the army of the pen. These men, who sit at home, shout from the housetops the glory of war and take to the cellars at the approach of danger. These armies are the more savage because they destroy much and risk nothing.

Germany hates England far more than she does France. France has no naval supremacy; England has. Germany feels toward France sympathy and compassion rather than animosity. England in her turn hates with deadly hatred the Prussian militarism. Yet it is between these two nations, strange as it may seem, that mutual aid has sprung up.

The Bishop of Canterbury and other well known persons such as J. Allen-Baker, M.P., <sup>and</sup> Lord and Lady Courtney of Penwith, two days after the outbreak of the war found in London the "Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress." It furnishes transportation for the subjects of these nations, and finds work and homes for those who cannot return. By the end of December almost 10,000 pounds have been spent.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Sub-committees visit prison camps, write letters for the wounded and cheer them at Christmas. In short, it is an echo of the "Agence des Prisonniers de Guerre" in Switzerland.

England's enemy Germany has founded a similar bureau in Berlin "Auskunfts und Hilfsstelle fur Deutsche in Ausland und Auslaender in Deutschland." (Information Bureau and Aid Post for Germans in foreign countries and foreigners in Germany.). As in England many aristocratic names are found among its sponsors, such as Frau Marie von Bulow-Moerlins, Helene Graefin Harrach, Martin Rade, Siegmund Schultze and others. Such organizations combat the evil influence of Chauvinism and send from war clouds a gleam of brotherly love.

Letter to Svenska Dagbladet of Stockholm

Turning from the subject of international aid bureaus in which he was so vitally interested he published a letter to "Svenska Dagbladet of Stockholm", the theme of which is that nothing will be able to prevent the reforming of the bonds between the thought of the hostile nations. There is no loss without some gain. The war has grouped together those who





# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

reject national hatred and these minds are bound closer in misfortune than ever they have been in days of peace.

That which unceasingly adds fuel to the flame is the War Literature. This war may be called a war of Intellectuals, and strange to say, it is the mature voice, the voice of the older men of supposed judgment, not that of the impetuous youth that stokes the furnace of war. In Germany, some young men realizing the havoc being wrought by the older men stay at home to write, vainly trying to offset the damage done by their elders. Suffering has caused the madness for war to disappear from the younger writers. There is a minority in Germany that are fighting against the spirit of hate. How difficult it was for the patriotic Frenchman inflamed by the spirit of the Chauvinists to see this fact, and how courageous Romain Rolland was to openly publish it!

Murder of  
the Elite

Continuing his theme he went on to the "Murder of the Elite." How well we realize today, nearly fifteen years after the signing of the Armistice, the truth of this article of Rolland. The worst





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

indictment of war has been illustrated by their deaths- they have been fodder for the guns, for what is war but legalized murder? The spirit of criticism even appeared among German officers. A most astonishing article was written in a trench north of Arras by Baron Marschall von Biberstein, Landrat of North Prussia, and a captain of the 1st Foot Guards reserve. It was at this same spot that he was killed November 11, 1915. The article appeared in the December number of Friedens-Warte, published in Berlin, Vienna and Leipsig by Dr. Alfred H. Fried. The following is an extract from this article which so exactly expressed the truth of Rolland's contentions: "The war has opened my eyes to our terrible unlovableness. Everything has its cause; we must have given cause for this hatred; and even in part have justified it.....Let us hope that it will not be the least of the advantages of this war that Germany will turn round on herself, will search out and recognize her faults and correct them." (1)

---

(1) Ibid. Note (1) Page 29, Reference, Page 171.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Similar ideas were found in a letter written by Dr. Albert Klein who was killed February 12, 1915, in Champagne. Dr. Klein wrote "We are the same thing. And it is precisely for this reason that we are so bitterly at enmity." (1) Still another letter was received at the "Agence des Prisonniers de Guerre." This was written by a German soldier to his teacher in Switzerland. In it he said "This war will show us how much of the beast still survives in man, and this revelation will cause us to make a great step out of animalism: if not, it is all up with us.... For the German people, this war seems to me to be a punishment and a call to repentance--and most of all for our German Church." (2) This further corroborated Rolland's belief that the church had failed in its mission of brotherly love.

Jaures

The World War was no new thing. There was a great political orator Jaures, likewise a thinker

---

(1) Ibid. Note (1) Page 29, Reference, Page 176

(2) Id. Note (1) page 177.







## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

who foretold the World War in 1905. This socialist friend of Romain Rolland met an untimely death at the very beginning of the event he predicted. (1)

In Stefan Zweig's "Romain Rolland" we find the following dedication: Romain Rolland is "the most impressive moral phenomenon of our age." (2)

"The monument Romain Rolland has builded stands firm 'above the battle', above the medley of opinions a pillar of strength toward which all free spirits can turn for consolations amid the tumult of the world." (3) What better summary could there be of this courageous series of articles written without fear by a lone unbiased spirit in the delirium of a great conflict?

---

(1) Assassinated July 31, 1914, probably because of his anti-military views.

(2) Romain Rolland-Stefan Zweig, Thomas Seltzer 1921 Dedication.

(3) Ibid. Note (2), Page 2.



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LIBRARY



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Of all his writings "Au-dessus de la Mêlée" is the most daring and the most criticized. It is the outcry of a desperate soul, not only his soul, but that of millions of others who had not the courage to speak. This book is better understood after reading the entry of August 3, 1914, in Rolland's diary. "I feel at the end of my resources. I wish I were dead. It is horrible to live when men have gone mad, horrible to witness the collapse of civilization. This European war is the greatest catastrophe in the history of many centuries, the overthrow of our dearest hopes of human brotherhood." (1) A few days later he wrote the following: "My distress is so colossal an accumulation of distresses that I can scarcely breathe. The ravaging of France, the fate of my friends, their deaths, their wounds....The grief at all this suffering, the heartrendering sympathetic anguish with the million of sufferers, I feel a moral death struggle as I look on at this mad

---

(1) Ibid. Note (2) Page 49, Reference, Page 265.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

humanity which is offering up its most precious possessions, its energies, its genius, its ardors of heroic devotion, which is sacrificing all these things to the murderous and stupid idols of war. I am heart-broken at the absence of any divine message, any divine spirit, any moral leadership, which might up-build the City of God when carnage is at an end. The futility of my whole life has reached its climax. If I could but sleep, never to reawaken." (1) These last words must have echoed many times in his lonely room of exile in Switzerland.

Les Précur-  
seurs

Early in 1919, Romain Rolland united in one volume a second part of the articles written on the war and published by him in Switzerland from the end of 1915 to the beginning of 1919. These articles were to be the continuance of his first collection "Au-dessus de la Mêlée" until a third book should give these articles and letters which could not find a place in the first series. These articles, entitled

---

(1) *Id.* Note (1) page 50.

humanity which is offered in the most precious  
sacrifices, the sacrifice, the gift, the offering  
of the devotion, which is essential to the human  
to the universe and eternal life of man. I am aware  
broken at the absence of any divine presence, any  
divine spirit, any moral authority, which might be  
found the cause of the great darkness in the world. The  
totality of the whole life is reached in this  
if I could but sleep, never to awaken. (1) I see  
that words must have echoed many times in the lonely  
room of exile in Switzerland.

Early in 1915, Roman in Berlin edited in one  
volume a second part of the articles written in the  
war and published by him in Switzerland from 1914  
of 1915 to the beginning of 1916. These articles were  
in the second issue of the first collection "A"  
described as "A" and "B" and "C" and "D" and "E"  
these articles and letters which could not find a  
place in the first series. These articles, written



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

"les Précurseurs" (1) were consecrated to the men of courage who in the various warring countries had been able to keep their free thought and their international faith amid the furies of war and universal reaction. Its dedication in August 1919, set forth the intentions of its author "To the memory of the martyrs of the new faith of humane Internationalism, to Jean Jaures, to Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Kurt Eisner, Gustave Landauer-victims of the savage stupidity, and murderous lie, the liberators of the men who have killed them."

Route en                      Worthy of special mention is the second article  
lacets qui                    "La Route en lacets qui monte," (2) because the vital  
monte                        message it carries is as applicable today as when it  
was written seventeen years ago. It first appeared  
in 1916, in "Le Carmel" published at Geneva. It is an  
appeal to all nations of Europe for unification into  
a United States of Europe. He feels that the war in  
which Germany and France are involved is making them

---

(1) "The Forerunners."

(2) "The Climbing Mountain Road."

The first section of the book is devoted to the history of the Negro in the United States. It is a history of the Negro as a people, not as a race. It is a history of the Negro as a man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a citizen, not as a subject. It is a history of the Negro as a free man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a citizen, not as a subject. It is a history of the Negro as a free man, not as a slave.

The second section of the book is devoted to the history of the Negro in the United States. It is a history of the Negro as a people, not as a race. It is a history of the Negro as a man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a citizen, not as a subject. It is a history of the Negro as a free man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a citizen, not as a subject. It is a history of the Negro as a free man, not as a slave.

The third section of the book is devoted to the history of the Negro in the United States. It is a history of the Negro as a people, not as a race. It is a history of the Negro as a man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a citizen, not as a subject. It is a history of the Negro as a free man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a man, not as a slave. It is a history of the Negro as a citizen, not as a subject. It is a history of the Negro as a free man, not as a slave.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

drink blood from the same cup in order that they may have a future union. Even while assassinating each other they are closer than before. Formerly they ignored each other but in war they know that each other exists. Though enemies they are not strangers. Some day, he feels, they will form a new nation. What seems duty today will be the crime of tomorrow. War will then be a civil one, not a war of individual nations. He goes a step further and completes this European ideal by the Asiatic ideal. This would be the highest ideal known to Europe.

On his 60th birthday Tetsuo Hirasawa sent him greetings in which he said that the thought of Romain Rolland had touched the Japanese soul, that they had taken Rolland for the guide of their thought. The author believed that his influence was preparing for them more happiness and wider horizons in the future. In view of recent developments Romain Rolland must be bitterly disillusioned in the mankind he has given his strength and soul to redeem.

Tributes came from China in the person of Jean-Baptiste Kin Yn Yu, from India in that of Kâlidâs Nâg,





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

and from Egypt in that of Ahmed Deif, all three men offering up thanksgiving for a man who looks beyond Europe to the East and Africa and who seeks to expiate the wrongs of the West. The future is dark to these continents and the present discouraging. Nevertheless in Rolland they see a champion of human fellowship and a builder of international understanding and coöperation.

What we should fight is hatred and incomprehension. Our task is to awake in conscience the beauty which resides in every human individuality, in every people and to find scientific bases of agreement among peoples, classes, and races. For alone, knowledge can by hard work conquer peace.

In 1887, when ideas of democracy and international peace seemed to hold sway, Rénan in talking with Rolland made this prediction: "Vous verrez venir encore une grande réaction. Tout paraîtra détruit de ce que nous défendons. Mais il ne faut pas s'inquiéter. Le chemin de l'humanité est une route de montagne: elle monte en lacets, et il semble par moments qu'on revienne en arrière. Mais on monte toujours."(1)

---

(1) "You will see come again a great reaction. (continued)

and from 1964 to 1965, all three men

offered up their lives for a man who had been

known to the East and West and who was to be

known the stage of the West. The future is before

these countries and the present is uncertain.

These in fact are the same as a chapter of human

history, and a chapter of international understanding

and cooperation.

That we should fight is not the intention.

Our task is to make a contribution to the world.

There is every human individuality, in every people

and to find a better basis of respect and peace.

Classes, and races. For those, knowledge can be found

with computer power.

In 1964, when there was a meeting and international

peace seemed to hold sway, when in fact it was

made this prediction: "You never really know me

until you know me. That is the only way to know me

and to know me. Make it so that we can know me

and to know me. The only way to know me is to know me

and to know me. It is the only way to know me

and to know me. This is the only way to know me.

\_\_\_\_\_

(1) "You will not ever know me until you know me" (Confidential)



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

No war can be fought for peace. Those who believe so should be called "bellipacistes." They should not be compared to pacifists. They are like those who in order to descend more quickly throw their furniture and children out the window instead of going down the stairs, the logical exit. One makes rapid progress, at great cost, the other makes slower progress but with safety for all. When Europe does decide to unite, there will be only blind and paralytics. Europe will reach her goal eventually, but bruised and broken. The ultimate truth of these words are seen today. Overburdened by the weight of taxes levied on the dead horse, war, the nations of Europe eye each other

---

Note (1), Page 54 (continued).

All this which we defend will appear destroyed. But you must not be disturbed. The way of humanity is a mountain road; it climbs in lacings and it seems at times that you retrace your steps. But you keep on climbing." *Les Précurseurs*, La route en lacets qui monte, Librairie Ollendorff, 50 Chaussée d'Antin, Paris, Neuvième Edition, page 10.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

with bitterness and distrust, swords ready to be drawn at the slightest provocation. They are still ready to sacrifice their children by flinging them out of the window rather than to save them by carrying them down by the slower, safer way of a United States of Europe.

Liluli

During the trying years of the world catastrophe alone in exile, forgotten in sympathy but not in hate, a man tried to forget reality in writing the side-splitting farcial satire of war "Liluli." Here we see him in a new vein. No longer does he preach; he sits back with tears of laughter in his eyes and sees the mad race of men go to their own doom. "Liluli" presents the stage setting of a ravine, spanned by a footbridge. The human race is on a march toward a mirage. The characters are peasants, intellectuals, diplomats, socialists, satyrs and mountebanks, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Truth, opinion, the Gallipoulets and Hurluberloches, who are at war, shopkeepers, pedlers, and Fettered Brains. Liluli, whose name bears a striking resemblance to the word Illusion, is the Ideal or Chimera which leads the above characters. She is the eternal vampire of History, the mask of





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

an ageless and endless cruelty. To the snapping whip of patriotism the characters do the snake dance of war.

The next greatest character is Polichinello, or the laughing brain, which is the eternal mocker. He believes in nothing, and smiles at all things. He is the wisdom of folly. He has a hump and wears something like a dunce cap. He believes his intellectual sneer has put him beyond Illusion. The tragedies of men tied to Liluli's apron string are farces invented to keep him in good humor. In the general crash of the Bridge of the World, seen in the stage setting, Polichinello goes with it. In the final Armageddon, humor has no greater saving qualities than tears, and the Master God is but the tribal Molock of all time, that of kaisers and peasants, an overwhelming satire.

"Liluli" is not a play of pacificism or any "ism" unless it be nihilism. Liluli is a luminous cloud in the shape of a woman that floats over the forests and jungles of our concrete nature.

The reviewer (1) of this play is astonished that such a work as this comes from the brain of an avowed pacifist. He remarks that "when Tolstoy

---

(1) Literary Digest, Volume 66, August 7, 1920, Page 39.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

became a pacifist his art died" but pacifism "has made of Romain Rolland a brother of Voltaire and Anatole France".

Cléram-  
bault

The first of his post-war works is "Clérambault." According to some, it is a thinly veiled autobiography in which his own emotions and difficulties are chronicled, but to others it is an expression of the idea, "l'un contre tous"(1) merely an expression of a man's great ideal. Clérambault fights for the independence of his idea of humanity against the militaristic madness of a whole epoch. He conquers, though despised and conquered, for he remains "l'un contre tous", (2) the eternal rebel. The same deep revolutionary vein is common to all of Rolland's heroes. In June 2, 1919, he published in "L'Humanité" a "declaration of the independence of the mind" in which he said "Truth

---

(1) "One against all."

(2) Clérambault, Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 50  
Chaussée d'Antin, Paris, 24e Edition, page 7, Note 1.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

only do we honor, truth that is free, frontierless, limitless, truth that knows naught of the prejudices of race or caste." (1)

At the outbreak of the war Clérambault is an ardent patriot. He sends Maxime his son, to war. The boy on leave, tries to tell his father how wrong war is but Clérambault, the nationalist, the patriot, will not listen. The boy returns to battle and to death. Clérambault, crushed, turns away from Chauvinism. He becomes a free soul. The voice of his conscience admonishes him, "Even if you were a thousand times more right in this struggle, is your justification worth the disasters it cost? Does justice demand that millions of innocents should fall a ransom for the sins and errors of others?" (2) His son thinks the greatest height is reached in an individual superiority. Clérambault estranges friends,

---

(1) Ibid. Note (2), page 49, Reference, chapter XXII, Page 353, Declaration of the Independence of the Mind.

(2) Ibid. Note (2), Page 58, Reference, Part I, Page 77.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

and loses the companionship of wife and daughter, who cannot understand him. He curses the cause which brought death to his son, whereas his old friend wishes he had more sons to give to glory of country. Clérambault dies the victim of an assassin who cannot understand what underlies the radical ideas of a man who defies convention and so-called patriotism.

Rolland's new gospel led to discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. The question was raised "How far has any man the right to set his conscience against the collective conscience?" As a novelist, he has depicted an individual soul struggle with a ruthless penetration hardly another American author could match.

John Haynes Holmes in "The World Tomorrow" calls "Clérambault" an immortal epic. Lucien Price, a great admirer of Romain Rolland, in the "New York Nation" heralds him a modern prophet and says he is one of a meager handful of European Intellectuals who have come through war with clean hands. In "Liluli" he laughs, in "Clérambault" he pities. At no time has he allowed himself to hate--it is a chronicle of sanity in a lunatic age.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

L'Ame En-  
chantée:  
Mère et  
Fils

His final and latest work is "L'Ame Enchantée" whose motif is inner freedom, the freedom of woman, this time instead of man. Annette, the bourgeoisie, brought up amid the conventions of a moralistic and Christian world defends her right to freedom, to individuality, and to free development in face of unseen powers, customs, and restrictions. She takes for herself the same privileges so long accorded males.

In visiting Sylvie, the daughter of her father and his mistress, she destroys an initial restriction and takes her first step to liberty. When she gives herself to her lover she takes a daring step away from the bourgeois world into a bold free existence of her own. Annette Rivière is the heraldress of the free woman. Alone she lives with her son and with hands unaccustomed to work supports and educates him.

When the world war breaks out she joins in the work of aiding the soldiers regardless of the country for which they are fighting. Again defying conventions she stays at the hotel alone with a soldier in order that he may again find his reason. Many thoughts of Rolland's own are reflected in this second

His final and latest work is "The American  
Character" which is under revision, the revision of which  
this time is under the hands of Mrs. Anne, the book being  
brought up into the conversation of a committee and  
Christian world should not right to freedom, to  
individuality, and to free development in face of  
such power, custom, and tradition. But we are not  
nearly the same ourselves as long ago. We are  
in various ways, the daughter of her father  
and his mother, she has to be an idealist, to  
and takes her first step in liberty. She has  
tried to be free and takes a first step  
from the world's world into a new world  
of her own. Anne's life is the history of the  
free woman. Anne is free with her and with  
hand suggested to work together and together  
from the world and from one side in the  
work of aiding the soldiers regardless of the country  
for which they are fighting. Again, during the  
warfare she stays at the hospital alone with a soldier  
in order that he may again find his peace. Mary  
daughter of Holland's own life is in this book.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

book of "Mère et Fils!". Undoubtedly one of the best descriptions of pacificism that we have as regards its efficacy is given by Annette to her son when she says, "And then, pacifism is, as its name indicates, a potion whose soothing use is legal, in time of peace, prohibited only when war has struck, for it is only then that it would be efficacious." (1) The whole philosophy of the book is summed up in these words of Annette's, "Our souls are free, our bodies chained. We are slaves in a society. We cannot destroy it without destroying ourselves. Even if it is unjust, we have only recourse to judge it, but we must obey." (2)

World Re-  
action to  
Au-dessus  
de la Mêlée

Of all his works none caused such an upheaval as was caused by "Au-dessus de la Mêlée". It has been said that the great tragedy of Rolland's life lies in the fact that his great genius has had to be buried under the weight of the accusations, suspicions and political hatred of the insane years of 1914 to 1919.

---

(1) L'Ame Enchantée, Mère et Fils, Book III, Part II, 27e mille, Published by Albin Michel, Editeur, 22, Rue Huyghens, Paris, page 237.

(2) Id. Note (1), Page 189.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

It came at a time when feelings ran high. The utterances of every thinking man were shackled by an autocratic press, for Chauvinism was stronger than reason. Such independent internationalistic articles marked a man a traitor rather than a patriot.

Tempest in  
France

The center of such a disturbance was naturally France, his native country. Utterly disregarding the fact that he was forty-eight years old at the outbreak of the war and physically unfit in addition, the press rose in arms against him, and branded him a slacker. Had he remained silent, he would have passed by unnoticed, so busy were men in killing and the Intellectuals in furnishing the killers.

When he was unable to bear longer the wanton destruction he broke his silence by writing the open letter to Hauptmann. For the first time the attention of the public was drawn to him. Not an article was published but there was added more poison to the pens of his persecutors. They cursed him and dishonored him. These curses furnished him both defenders and enemies. So unfair and unfavorable to him was the press that only incomplete and censored extracts of





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

of "Au-dessus de la Mêlée" were known to France.

The articles appeared in November 1915, in a volume at the Ollendorff Publishing House. The tempest began again more violent. Everybody wanted to take sides. Adversaries and partisans threatened and insulted each other. The papers did not have enough room in their columns to insert the manifestos and replies which succeeded each other without pity.

War libels grew embittered. Henri Massis' "Romain Rolland contre la France" published in July 1915, started an assault. In the "Bonnet Rouge", July and August 1915, J.-M. Rénaitour defended Romain Rolland and drew upon himself the inflamed replies of Stephane Servant, then of Paul Hyacinthe Loyson. This controversy lasted until the end of November 1915. Then there appeared "Pour Romain Rolland", published at Geneva, and signed Henri Guilbeaux. This article almost coincided with the appearance at Ollendorff's of "Au-dessus de la Mêlée." His Paris friends found themselves unable to aid him. Their letters were intercepted and other communication of course impossible. Cut off as they were they had to





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

defend their man, if they were to defend their ideas. Amédée Dunois, Georges Pioch, Rouanet, Jacques Mesnil, Gaston Thiesson, Marcel Martinet, Fernand Duprès, and Rénaitour rallied to his defence. A book entitled "Une voix de femme dans la mêlée" appeared, whose extraordinary feature was that its author was a woman, Marcelle Capi. Thus, another woman was added to the two who had already so nobly served him in days of doubt and uncertainty.

Anatole France and Octave Mirabeau faced about from their pacifist writings and rallied to the defence of the government. This was considered additional proof of Rolland's defection. Some of the most distinguished men in France took up arms against him and misled the public as to his intentions because they were afraid of the effect of his words upon public opinion.

Bergson, the philosopher, produced articles of such violence that since the war they have detracted from his reputation as a thinker, while Aulard, of the Sorbonne failed to apply historians' methods of verification of facts. Both wrote ill-founded and





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

venomous attacks. Massis in "L'Opinion" and "L'Action Française" even tried to belittle "Jean Christophe" as a means of ruining Rolland's reputation. Their very sharpness proved their weakness.

Some papers pretended not to know who he was, or if he were French. His friends received no hearing and struggled against a prejudiced censorship which even suppressed certain papers that took his side.

Jacques Mesnil, of the "Mercure de France", Henri Guilbeaux of "Demain", Amédée Dunois, of "L'Humanité", Jean Longuet, Socialist Deputy, Maximilien Luce, artist, and Professor Paul Seippel of Geneva, all sprang to his defense but only by means of Swiss publications or pamphlets could they state their case. Many felt as Rolland, but dared not express what they felt.

The Guild of Blacksmiths sent him a letter protesting against the attacks. A teachers' journal "L'Ecole de la Fédération des Syndicats d'Instituteurs et d'Institutrices Publics" gave part of two numbers of their paper to him. The delegates of labor unions, who met in August 1915, sent him a letter in which

REDACTED, 1914-1915

known attacks. He is in "L'Espresso" and "L'Espresso"  
"L'Espresso" also tried to publish "L'Espresso"  
as a means of making his reputation. Their  
efforts proved their weakness.  
These papers pretended not to know the facts,  
it was French. His friends received no letters  
and tried to keep a reputation of honesty. When  
even the papers tried to say that he was  
dead as well, of the "L'Espresso de France".  
The "L'Espresso de France", "L'Espresso de France",  
"L'Espresso de France", "L'Espresso de France",  
"L'Espresso de France", and "L'Espresso de France",  
saying to the public not only by means of  
publications or magazines could they have their  
say in the world, but also not without that they  
felt.  
The world of France had sent him a letter pro-  
testing against the attack. A Frenchman, French  
"L'Espresso de France" was "L'Espresso de France"  
at "L'Espresso de France" gave part of the money  
of the paper to him. The defense of the paper  
who was in August 1914, sent him a letter to read.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

they begged him not to remain silent because of the impossibility of having his articles published.

Against the ardent supporters we have balanced M. Jean Finot, editor of "La Revue". He declared, that Romain Rolland had not acted virtuously. In fact, he had done everything to obtain the opposite effect. At the beginning of the war he claimed to be ignorant of its causes and its authors. At that time he could write with serenity "Au-dessus de la Mêlée."

The invasion of Belgium and the divulging of diplomatic documents should have made it impossible to remain away from France who needed so badly her native sons. His plain duty was to create an atmosphere of heroism necessary for the triumph of the cause of humanity. He preferred to remain aloof, and to cast doubts on the beauty and grandeur of the cause of the allies. M. Finot was willing to believe in his sympathy, but regretted the way he showed it. He was guilty of demoralizing unintentionally a group of young men who seemed to show an indifference to the consequences of the war which in the end must be

then begged him not to remain silent because of the  
responsibility of having his studies published.

Against the evident opposition he has published

W. Jean Finot, editor of "Le Review". He declares

that Roman Rolland has not acted victoriously. In

fact, he has done everything to obtain the opposite

effect. At the beginning of the war he aimed to

be ignorant of the causes and the authors. At that

time he could write with certainty "and because he is

alone."

The invasion of Belgium and the division of

historic documents should have made it impossible

to remain away from France who needed so badly her

native sons. His plain duty was to create an at-

mosphere of hatred necessary for the triumph of

the cause of humanity. He refused to remain silent

and he had to follow the beauty and grandeur of the

cause of the allied. W. Finot was willing to follow

in his example, but regretted the way he acted if

he was guilty of denationalizing unintentionally a work

of unity and aimed to show an indifference to

the consequences of the war which is the end and must be



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

the triumph of good or evil, the saving or the loss of humanity.

Lieutenant Paul Hyacinth Loyson, whose wife and mother are both Americans, bitterly arraigned him in his "Un Appel à Romain Rolland", in "La Revue" November 1916, when he said "The folly of pride has precipitated him into the absurd. He alone of all men and parties has remained outside his native land during war and refuses to proclaim the good right of France."

Emile Verhaeren, the Belgium, said, "The present war is a wicked war. It is aimed at the proudest and highest ideals set up on this earth by men since they have thought and worked for the public weal. Therefore it should be hated, there should be no neutrality. One's hands should not hold scales when the adversary holds a sword." In spite of his friendship with Rolland he will not permit himself to take the side of his error.

Some of his critics likened him to the French priest, Dom Morin, who then resided in Munich and came out flatly for the Germans. This accusation was





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

unfair because of the fact that Dom Morin migrated to Bavaria where the Catholics were best treated, upon the separation of the Church and State in France. He was more like Hermann Hesse, the German poet, who at Berne was doing exactly what Romain Rolland was doing at Geneva.

The long time foreign editor of the "Journal des Débats", and later French Consul General at New York, M. Alcide Ebray, did not think Rolland could be accused of being anti-French. He like many in France had a mixed or hybrid mentality. In ordinary times they could use for good the bond uniting these two different mentalities. In war times, their position became difficult. They tried to be just and conciliatory with the result that they pleased nobody. Even in France he was considered too lukewarm for the cause.

Professor Henri Lichtenberger found that people were very unjust. Romain Rolland was one of the noblest minded men he knew. His broad Europeanism and spirit of equity were admirable to behold. One could hold different opinions as to his remaining in Switzerland, "Above the battle." One should bear in





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

mind he had no military duty to perform, no son, nor brother in the army. He was in bad health, therefore he was in much better position than most people to maintain that attitude.

The French dramatic critic, Comte Fitz-James, returning to Paris from a visit to Romain Rolland in Geneva said that Romain Rolland felt keenly his treatment in France. He found in the most notable book the war had produced no sufficient ground for the handling the author had received from his own countrymen. The spirit of Mr. Rolland's plea was that no impulse to save one's country should be permitted to extinguish one's sense of charity toward one's enemies. Inasmuch as the Frenchman had no conscientious objectors at home he sought to maintain some gleam of partiality towards the Teutons.

Then as the war became more tragic it stifled the war of words. Rolland was silent not because he had forgotten but to wait for calmer days. Whatever the criticism at home, Rolland had friends and admirers at the front. A soldier wrote, "Our man at the front is Romain Rolland. We have only scorn for those, who,

ROSAINE ROLLAND, 1814-1912

mind he had no military duty to perform, no son, nor brother in the army. He was in bad health, therefore he was in much better position than most people to maintain that attitude.

The French dramatic critic, Gustave Fitz-James, returning to Paris from a visit to Rosaine Rolland in Geneva said that Rosaine Rolland told nearly his exact story to him. He found in the most reliable book the text had contained no untruthful ground for the Rollands. The subject had revealed from his own countryman. The story of Mr. Rolland's life was that he intended to save one's country, would be permitted to extinguish one's sense of duty toward one's nation. Inasmuch as the Frenchman had no conscientious objection to arms he sought to maintain some form of patriotism. He lived in France.

Then as the war became more fierce it reached the war of nerves. Rolland was object not because he was object not to wait for dinner. However, the Rollands had friends and friends and friends at the front. A soldier wrote "you can see the front as Rosaine Rolland. He knew only death and peace, the



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

in the rear, preach hatred. We have made the sacrifice of our lives, but we do not want to die hating."(1)

Many considered the animosity that surrounded him an honor. Rolland himself said, "Men were still so drunken with the fumes of the first bloodshed that they would have been fain to crucify Christ once again should he have risen: to crucify him for saying, 'Love one another'." (2)

Contro-  
versy  
Abroad

Not alone in France did hatred rage. America joined in condemnation as well as in praise of him. It is most interesting to compare the two different points of view expressed by the same American before the conflict and during it. In speaking of the great novel "Jean Christophe", Alvan Sanborn, an American with long residence in Paris, used these words "Rolland at forty-seven has proved himself a man of great heart and of pure conscience, one of the heroic

---

(1) Nation, Volume 103, November 23, 1916, Page 485.

(2) Ibid. Note (2) page 49, Reference, Chapter IX, Page 292.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

beings forged upon the anvil of physical and moral suffering, who dares to look anguish in the face and venerate it, one of the choice spirits who, seeing the world as it is, still loves it." (1) All this he said in 1913.

Now, to 1915. Such a gulf as stretches between pre-war 1913 and wartime 1915, both in time and sympathy. It is well to remember that Alvan F. Sanborn is married to a foreign wife. He has been discharged from the war through illness and because he is over age. Rolland to him has now become "most pitiable", "as man without a country" and "a moral inferior of the humblest poilu." (2) He goes further to say that "judged by the rigid ethical standards he himself professes to apply, he is nothing more nor less than a deserter." (3) He charges he could have been an

---

(1) Id. Page 15, Note (1), Pages 512-518.

(2) Id. Page 15, Note (2), Page 1477.

(3) Id. Note (2).

...forgot even the title of physical and moral  
...the same to look forward in the face and  
...one of the choice artists and, seeing  
...the world as it is, still loves it. All this he  
...in 1913.  
...for, he felt, that a little as stretches between  
...1913 and 1914, there is time and  
...symptoms. It is well to remember that a man's behavior  
...is carried to a foreign city. He has been disappointed  
...from the war through illness and because he is over  
...and. Rolland to him has now become "great artist".  
..."we can without a country" and "a moral inferiority"  
...the world is still. (13) He goes further to say that  
..."judged by the right ethical standard he is well and  
...to be. He is not in worse luck than  
...constant." (14) In charges he could have been on

- 
- (1) 1st Page 1, Page 11, Page 113-114.
  - (2) 1st Page 12, Page 12, Page 117.
  - (3) 1st Page 12.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

interpreter with his knowledge of German. He continues, "He sits a myope perched on a peak, to offer 'high-brow' advice to all the combatants." In "Au-dessus de la Mêlée" he sings <sup>a</sup>paens to the soldiers and then calls them feeble beings swept away by a flood. He says the three greatest nations of the world are rushing to ruin.(1) Sanborn thinks that France must be included. He tries to inspire fighters with distrust of their chiefs. Rolland contends that "the heads of states are consumed with ambition and are the criminal authors of war. Each one, Poincare, Albert of Belgium, and Pierre of Servia are endeavoring to throw responsibility upon the adversary."(2) Sanborn contradicts him. What Sanborn does not seem to realize is that Rolland believes in self-defense and that what he condemns is aggression. To Sanborn it is not enough to give aid on the neutral side through the agency of an international society for the exchange of prisoners. Rolland's soul state

---

(1) Id. Page 15, Note (2) Page 1477.

(2) Id. (Note (1)).





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

is of negligible importance to the world; he should shoulder the burden. Sanborn thinks Rolland does not understand that an endeavor at reconciliation by a neutral is commendable, but by a Frenchman while a German holds a foot of soil, French or Belgium, is reprehensible.

Sanborn, now worked up to a fever pitch, believes he never saw the obverse side of Rolland's character before the war but others did. He thus describes the Granié picture. "A few years ago Granié made a highly artistic portrait drawing of Rolland. This drawing represented him as a supremely languid, sinuous, effeminate type, with a moonstruck eye gazing uncannily into space, with the triangular head of a viper (copperhead?) reclining upon a tenuous, tapering, flaccid, slightly simian hand; pose strikingly reminiscent of that of one of the most famous gargoyles of Notre Dame de Paris." (1) When reproduced in a New York magazine, this description drew protests from his admirers, but Sanborn continued his relentless flaying.

---

(1) Id. Page 15, Note (2), Page 1477.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Recent events, he maintains, has shown that Granié drew his soul rather than his body. The physical likeness was indeed slight. It seems strange to believe that an educated man, and writer could become so biased in such a brief period of time. This is just one of the many insults Rolland had to undergo in silence. After disarming their victim by depriving him of the freedom of the press, his enemies proceeded to direct at him their poisonous shafts of libel and slander.

Rolland had, however, on this side of the Atlantic another American, Marion E. Bowler, who gallantly came to his defense. To her it was inconceivable that a man whose ideas so nearly matched her own could, as his enemies have put it, in the hour of his country's greatest need, have retired to Switzerland "to sit a myope" perched on a peak of moral superiority" (1) where he might maintain his neutrality or die in the attempt.(2) His articles and the attacks against him were not available to us in the United States. We had to be at

---

(1) Id. Page 15, Note (2), Page 1477.

(2) Current Opinion, Volume 60, March 1916, Page 195.

Recent events, as mentioned, are more than  
 enough to show the civil nature of his work. The  
 physical aspect of his work is not light. It seems almost  
 to believe that an educated man, and with some  
 degree of talent in such a field of work.  
 This is just one of the many facts which lead to  
 his work in silence. After assuming the work  
 of civil nature, his of the freedom of the press, his  
 career proceeded as direct as his first position  
 state of life and character.  
 Kolko has, however, on this side of the  
 Atlantic another witness, Arthur J. Foster, who  
 actually was to his father. To him it was  
 necessary that a man who was so truly  
 his own work, as his father have not it, in the  
 hour of his country's greatest need, have failed  
 to "betray" to all a young nation on a  
 of moral integrity (1) where he might maintain  
 his position or be in the attempt (2) his  
 position and the efforts against him were not avail-  
 able to the United States. We had to be at

(1) 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

(2) 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.



# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

the mercy of one or two foreign correspondents who were plainly influenced by a hostile atmosphere. Due to Romain Rolland himself Miss Bowler was able to obtain first hand information which she dared to give the American Press.

Not alone in the United States was Rolland's case discussed. In Italy, Guiseppe Borgese, an eminent professor in the University of Rome protested against the moblike prevalence of unreasoning hatred. A quotation from "Marzocco", an extreme nationalist journal published in Italy read: "Your idealism has been more practical than all the declarations of your enemies." In "l'Avanti", Rome, appeared an article entitled "In Defence of Rolland." "No one in Italy can understand", said Jacques Mesnil, writing in the "Mercure de France", "why France, generous and idealistic, could cause one of the best French writers to be insulted because he refused to envelop France in hatred." (1)

In England Gilbert Cannan, translator of "Jean Christophe", ranked himself with the conscientious

---

(1) Id. Page 75, Note (2)

The story of one of the foreign correspondents  
who were actually imprisoned by a hostile government.  
Due to his own refusal almost Miss Bondar was able  
to obtain first hand information from which she hoped to  
give the American press.

Not alone in the United States was Holland's  
case discussed. In Italy, Giuseppe Bergami, an  
extreme professor in the University of Rome protested  
against the public revelation of correspondence between  
a quotation from "L'Espresso", an extreme nationalist  
journal published in Italy, read "Y. W. International has  
been more successful than all the nations of war  
combined." In "L'Avanti", Rome, appeared an article  
entitled "In Defense of Holland." "To me in Italy  
one understands", said Giuseppe Monti, writing in  
the "Resto del Carlino", "why France, Germany and  
Austria, could count on the best French writers  
to be killed because he refused to write for France  
in battle." (1)

In England Alfred Gorman, translator of "L'Espresso"  
Christophers, talked himself with the correspondence



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

objectors. Both Cannan and Rolland ranked among the most interesting minds of all time, according to the "New York Tribune." At the hour of starkest tragedy, why should they set their nations against them? The "Tribune" called Rolland's utterances merely "a vague intellectual nationalism aiming to minimize the scars which war must necessarily inflict upon western civilization!"(1) He sought to distract attention to some theories of faith and conduct which, even though they did not hinder the national uprising, could not assist it.

Even Switzerland was roused both for and against Rolland. The "Journal de Genève" alone would publish his articles, and it was through this medium that the articles comprising "Au-dessus de la Mêlée" were first published. It was only the radical and socialist papers that would serve as his publishers and then many of his articles were deleted. How high feeling ran at this time may be judged by the refusal of the neutral press to accept any articles of Rolland.

---

(1) Literary Digest, Volume 53, November 25, 1916, page 1408.





# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Of the little group of writers, disciples, and friends who gathered about him at Geneva was an author P. J. Jouve whose work "Romain Rolland Vivant" furnished the inspiration for this thesis. He with René Arcos realized the horror of war and hated it intensely. In this circle were found Franz Masereel whose woodcuts add so much to "Liluli" and whose portrait of Rolland forms the frontispiece of Jouve's "Romain Rolland Vivant"; Guilbeaux whose review "Demain" was of great assistance to the cause until it succumbed to its passion for the Russian revolution; and Charles Baudouin whose "Le Carmel" welcomed the oppressed writers of all lands. The Latin press was decidedly partisan and to combat this another member Jean Debrit founded "La Feuille." The most vigorous periodical in Switzerland was "Les Tablettes" enhanced by the drawings of Masereel. As can be expected the feature of this coterie was that the enemy brethren were not excluded.

Nobel  
Prize

One nation alone came forth to honor him verbally as well as financially. Each year The Nobel Foundation offers five prizes for the greatest contributions toward the progress of the world and the welfare of





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

humanity in physics, chemistry, medicine, literature, and world peace. The prize amounts to about 750 Swedish crowns or \$30,000 in our money. This prize was not given in 1914, and in 1915, it was reserved. However in 1916, on November 9th, it was given to Rolland but for the year 1915, with this mention, "as homage given to the great idealism of his writings as well as to the sympathy and truth with which he painted different human types." (1) As soon as he learned of his award he wrote to the editor M. Humblot, to tell him that his intention was to "give all the prize to different works of benevolence." He asked for himself "only the right to think freely." He used this money to render assistance in the "Agence des Prisonniers de Guerre" to friends of those who were attacking him in France.

Persecu-  
tion of  
Rolland

This award was just the weapon his enemies had long been awaiting. "Jean Christophe" the novel for which the prize had been given was called German propaganda. Upon learning of Rolland's plan to give all to war-relief work, the French Press talked of

---

(1) Demain (Revue Suisse), 1<sup>er</sup> année, Numéros 11-12, novembre-décembre 1916, Pages 391-392.

# ROBERT WALTON, 1914-1915

humanity in Europe, chemistry, medicine, literature, and world peace. The prize amounts to about \$50,000.00 or \$50,000.00 in our money. This prize was not given in 1914, and in 1915, it was received, however in 1915, on November 24, it was given to Robert Walton for the year 1914, with this mention, "as always given to the great idealism of his writings as well as to the sympathy and truth with which he related different human types." (1) As soon as he learned of this award he wrote to the editor M. F. B. to tell him that his intention was to "give all the prize to different types of humanism." He said for himself "only the right to think freely." He used this money to render assistance in the "League of Nations" to friends of those who were afflicted with a disease.

This award was given the year 1914 and 1915. "When this award was given, the award for peace, the prize was given was called peace prize. When Robert Walton's plan to give all the prize to the French Press failed of

(1) Robert Walton, for peace, November 1914, November 1915, November 1916, November 1917.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

"Judas and his thirty pieces of silver to war sufferers". Ah yes, the heroic pose! Even worse taste if possible! It was said that the Swedes gave him the prize because they were pro-German "germanophiles." Little doubt is left to one's mind how far the world had traveled into suspicion and hatred when a prize whose purpose was to create better world understanding was construed as a reward from pro-Germans to promote German propaganda.

Activities            One of man's most cherished rights, the freedom  
of French            of the press was early denied Rolland. French news-  
Government          papers were forbidden to print "Au-dessus de la M<sup>é</sup>lée."  
Certain parts became known wherein he was charged with  
being an anti-patriot. Professors at the Sorbonne  
and historians did not shrink from accusations. News-  
paper articles were followed by pamphlets, and  
finally, a large volume appeared which furnished a  
thousand proofs with photographs and quotations in-  
tended to supply materials for a prosecution. There  
was no lack of basest calumnies.

It was said that since the beginning of the war Rolland had joined the German society "Neues Vaterland"; that he was a contributor to German







## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

newspapers; that his American publisher was a German agent. In one volume he was accused of deliberately falsifying dates. The whole of the French press with few exceptions combined to boycott Rolland. One professor triumphantly said, "Cet auteur ne se lit plus en France." (1) His former associates withdrew in alarm from this tainted member. One of his oldest friends to whom Rolland had dedicated a book, cancelled the publication of a book upon Rolland, although the book was already in type.

He was watched by the French government who sent agents to follow his activities. Lieutenant Mornet, the head of these prosecutions, publicly stigmatized as abominable his essay. The authority of his name, the spotlessness of his public life, and the fact that he was a lone fighter only frustrated the well prepared plan to put Rolland in court among adventurers and petty spies.

Three In the eyes of patriots his first crime was to  
Crimes of discuss the moral problems of war. Soldiers must not  
Rolland be taught to think but to hate. A lie to promote enthusiasm is worth more than the truth. Reflection and doubt is a crime against the infallibility of the fatherland. He abandoned his French attitude; hence, he was

---

(1) This author is no longer read in France. Ibid. Note (1),  
Page 14.

ROBERTA HOLLAND, 1914-1919

newspaper; that his article entitled "The German Agent" in one volume he was accused of deliberately falsifying dates. The whole of the French press with its excursions descended on Robert Holland. One professor telegraphically said, "Get out of the city at once." The former ambassador, who was in Paris at the time, said: "One of the latest things to which I have been subjected is being accused of the falsification of a book upon Holland, although the book was written in 1906." He was retained by the French Government, the next agents to follow his activities. His constant refusal to meet these representatives, publicly attacking and denouncing his deeds. The authority of his name, the brotherhood of his whole life, and the fact that he was a lone fighter only heightened the very reputation that he had. Robert Holland in short was an adventurous and active man. In the eyes of his friends his life was one of glorious success. The actual progress of war, which was not he taught to look out on later, a life of progress and success. He was with the French, fighting and doing in a crisis which the French people at the time had. He showed at the French at night, he was



# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

neutral and therefore a traitor.

His second crime was the desire to be just to all mankind, to call the Germans, brothers, and to have compassion for German sufferers. The dogma of patriotism was that humanitarianism should be stifled during the war. Justice and "Thou shalt not kill" were shelved. One of the pamphlets against Rolland bears this motto, "Pendant une guerre tout ce qu'on donne de l'amour à l'humanité on le vole à la patrie." (1)

His third crime was his refusal to regard a military victory as likely to lead to morality, to promote spiritual regeneration, or to bring justice. For this reason, and because he was desirous of the speedy termination of the war, he was stigmatized by the term "defeatist." He believed a just and bloodless peace would be more blessed than an enforced one which would only cause hatred and new wars. Romain Rolland was stigmatized as one who poisoned the morale of the armies. To the militarists he was the last example of dying "Rénanism." He wished France to be victorious through the superiority of

---

(1) "During a war all that one gives of love to humanity one steals from the fatherland."





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

a great heart and to extend her fullest sympathy to her enemies as soon as she had put it beyond their power to injure her.

He made no effort to answer even the most slanderous attacks. He recalled Chamfort's saying, "There are times when public opinion is the worst of all possible opinions." The wrath of his opponents affirmed his opinion that he was right. His oldest friends forsook him; editors and publishers refused him hospitality. His friends in Paris had difficulty in communicating with him. Half of their letters and his were lost on the frontier.

His parents and his sister were able to get across the frontier about once a year. He had no wife, and no publishers. He lived in a glass house which was forever watched. So-called revolutionists and sympathizers came to pay their respects to him, but in reality, they were spies. His family was liable to be stopped and searched and even such an innocent article as a laundry check nearly got his sister Madeleine into serious difficulties on one of her visits to him. His telephone wires were tapped.

A great heart and a strong will, but his own strength  
to her seemed as weak as the wind, and his power  
was in his love.

He made no effort to escape from the world,  
standing before the world as it was, and his  
"there are times when noble nature is the victor of  
all selfish passions." The words of his own heart  
affirmed his opinion that he was right. His heart  
found peace and joy in the world, and his  
his own heart. His friends in Paris had followed  
in connection with him. Half of their letters  
and his wife lost on the frontier.

His heart and his wife were still in Paris.  
He found the frontier about once a year. He had no  
will, and no ambition. He lived in a small house  
which was forever called. He called it "the little house"  
and his friends came to his little house to live.  
But in reality, they were not. His family was  
little to be stopped and he was not even with an  
innocent article as a journey, which nearly put his  
heart. He was in Paris, and his friends were in Paris.  
His friends in Paris were in Paris.



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

Germany's  
Antipathy

One might imagine that a man so cursed by his countrymen would have been received with open arms by the country whose protagonist **he** was declared to be. Such was not the case however. In the columns of "Du Deutsche Rundschau" the great secret was disclosed that under the mask of neutrality, "Jean Christophe" had been a most dangerous attack upon the German spirit. It was this same book that French patriots painted black, as a strong argument in favor of Germany. Here was a book intended to bring about a sympathetic understanding and what a tool it became in the hands of the Chauvinists of both Germany and France.

Rolland was unaware that the Germans had not and could not have any inkling of the true political situation. Such a protest as Rolland desired the German intellectuals to make was quite impossible. The attempt was ill-timed; passion ran too high. The German papers joined the French in abusing him and accused the papers which published his articles of being against their country.

He was even accused of writing a letter of encouragement to the women at the Hague. There was no

The first reaction that I can be traced by his  
conduct was that he had been received with open arms  
by the country whose representative he was declared to  
be. Such was not the case however. In the volume of  
"Die Deutsche Literatur" the first entry was dis-  
cussed that under the name of "Kilian". "Kilian"  
"Kilian" had been a most successful student from the  
German point of view. It was this same book that French  
patriots claimed to be, as a national monument in honor  
of Germany. Not only was it intended to bring about  
a systematic understanding, but what a tool to become  
to the minds of the Chastitars of both Germany and  
France.

Hollins was unable to see the German had not  
and could not have any feeling of the true political  
situation. Such a protest as Hollins desired the  
German intellectuals to make was quite impossible.  
The protest was ill-timed, because the war had begun.  
German people looked for France to attack him and  
accused the Germans with having the intention of  
being against their country.

He was even accused of writing a letter of in-  
sult to the army of the Kaiser. There was no



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

disgrace in this, but just to prove how unfounded these rumors were, this letter was in reality written for an English suffragist paper "Jus Suffragit" which had asked for it, and had no connection whatsoever with the problem at hand. A portion of this letter in which he paid high tribute to his mother and Malwida von Meysenbug has already been mentioned.

Cooling of Switzerland's Affections      It seems as though Rolland should have been safe from prosecution in neutral Switzerland, the land of the exile. His war work, previously mentioned, at the "Agence des Prisonniers de Guerre" was notable. It is well to remember that, in order to render assistance at this agency, he had sacrificed his own personal comfort and had moved from the delightful old world town of Vevey to Geneva. Not only did he give of his time, but of his money as well to help indiscriminately the citizens of his own country or the enemy. No finer example of brotherly love can be found in this materialistic age. The wounds he so carefully healed were moral ones such as only a lover of mankind could help.

Yet neutral Switzerland felt herself in a com-





# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

promising position. Between two hostile nations, she was infested with spies of both. She could not ask him to go; she would not ask him to remain. Her problem was solved by a Power higher than her own. Rolland's exile was terminated by the death of his mother.

It was May of 1919, that the sad news was brought to him. In many ways it was similar to the death of Louisa, mother of the hero whose creation had brought him such suffering. Like Louisa and Christophe, these two were very close to each other. Rolland lost much when he lost his mother.

Gustave Dupin pays high tribute to this mother. He went often to see her in Paris during the war and each visit became to him an appeasement and purification. We need but this brief quotation to know how deeply he honors her memory. "Il m'est doux, aujourd'hui, de rattacher cette sainte mémoire à l'hommage que nous rendons à son fils." (1) He saw her die when the violence of society had reached its end, when victory triumphed, and when the spirit was defeated. The only

---

(1) "It is sweet to me today to connect this sacred memory to the homage which we render her son." Ibid. Note (1), page 14, Reference 136.

...the ... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..



## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

irreparable misfortune is the death of those whom we love.

He left Switzerland the fourth of May upon a summons by telegraph. There was great danger. Official persecution might fall upon him as soon as he crossed the frontier. He returned at the most tense moment, some days before the publication of the Treaty of Versailles. He expected the worse. He asked only one thing of events; to permit him to see his mother. His prayer was answered. The State did not touch him. At Paris he shut himself up with his sick mother and his family. Then the funeral, and with a little group of friends the procession to the little cemetery of his native country. He returned to Paris, ill.

## Summary

The wound in his heart, forever incurable, did not find ease in the new "foire sur la place" (1) composed of pacifists and internationalists of the eleventh hour who were making their noisy appearance.

---

(1) "Market Place."





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

"Un contre tous." (1) he began <sup>a</sup>gain to work in order that his gospel of the free soul might again awake the sleeping conscience of the world.

His philosophy can be summed up in three or four human principles, namely: that of understanding, of loving, of being free, and of tolerating. The sources of truth and faith are defended by him. He feels each man to be a little world which has its task, and its faith in order that this task may be accomplished. In face of the pessimistic truth of life there is the optimistic outlook of the soul for "The spirit is light." (2) In Rolland's own words, "it is necessary to see life in its entity, in its horror. It is necessary to see that in it are manifested sublime forces, and to live for these sublime forces." (3) I have an immense optimism, but an in-

---

(1) "One against all."

(2) Ibid. Note (1), Page 13, Reference, Page 279.

(3) Conversation with Jouve at Sierre, January 1917.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

finite hope." (1)

When the bloody conflict has ended and hates turned to dust Rolland will still remain, like a European conscience at the hour of its destruction, a herald of thought at a time when to think was to destroy one's life.

The Free  
Soul

Rolland's soul has always been free, socially, religiously, and politically. When but fifteen he broke with formal established religion. Socially, he has withdrawn from current activities, and finding much within himself has not been the loser but the gainer. Politically, he was during the war a strong Socialist, but disillusioned by their failure to stand their ground, by the desertion of their leaders, he turned to seek consolation in Communism, not in the bad sense of the word, such as we Americans generally interpret it, but in its highest ideals.

Valentin Boulgakoff tells us that the Bolsheviki and, at the same time, their political enemies have made Rolland either one of them or a sympathizer. All that is not true. He is not a Bolsheviki nor has

---

(1) Conversation with Jouve at Sierre, November 11, 1916.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

he any sympathy for them, but at the same time he is not against them, nor has he anything in common with the Anti-Bolsheviks. He is the friend of Truth and Humanity, and it is only with Truth and Humanity that he sympathizes.

He was brought up under his mother's influence in a Jansenistic Catholicism, but he underwent crude experiences during his childhood and emerged into a certain period of philosophical nihilism. In 1884, having had the revelation of Spinoza he went to see Rénan. At the Ecole Normale he wrote, in 1888, the "Credo quia verum," the first act of his faith. It is a pantheism based upon the principle, "I think or feel, therefore He is." From this axiom comes a conception of God, of the world, of liberty, an ethical and aesthetic ideal. In 1912, he wrote, "Up until recently the light of this belief of youth has been sufficient to give me light." (1)

The religious form of his thought has undergone change however, and we find at the terrible hour of "Le Buisson Ardent" a dualistic conception of God

---

(1) Letter to M. Paul Seippel. The "Credo quia verum" has never been published.





## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

fighting eternally against a principle of nothingness.(1) In "La Nouvelle Journée" the dualistic notion seems replaced by the idea of a trinity. (2) Thus, in religion his soul is ever free, striving to find eternal truth. Here is a man who has kept his convictions in spite of *persecution*, loneliness, and disillusion.

The chemist, to prove his hypothesis, performs an experiment. The World War became the chemist and Rolland's theory of the free soul, the experiment. In the final analysis it upheld its every claim. That the present day needs him is proved by the scourging he received from it, which is the true recognition of his greatness by his fellow beings. (3)

He struggled to warn youth of its impending doom. Out of all humanitarians, preachers, social workers, and the like, he was the only one who was unwilling to extol war and its virtues. Ministers in their pulpits, professors at their desks, and

---

(1) Le Buisson Ardent (The Burning Bush), page 324.

(2) La Nouvelle Journée (The New Day), pages 329-343.

(3) Ibid. Note (1) page 14, Reference, page 349.







## ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

service workers propped up the sagging heroism of the victims with poetry, song, orations, and amusements. For his foresight and protection he reaped the scorn, distrust, and hatred not of those whom he would save but of those from whom he was snatching the prey.

He, alone, aloft, as the star of old above Mount Ida serenely watched over burning Troy and its refugees, so did he above the turmoil, gore, and torture, keep his faith, control, and axioms of "Love thy neighbor as thyself" and "Thou shalt not kill." Although personal motives drove sovereigns to war no thought of self kept Rolland out of the struggle but rather a desire to save his fellow men, to banish hatred, to see the good in others, and to teach forgiveness.

Socialists turned Chauvinists, Intellectuals forgot their philosophy, and his most ardent supporters became his bitterest enemies and most eager persecutors. For five long years, during which he drained the cup of sorrow to its bitterest dregs, his free soul, and the ideals it embraced, brotherly and peace, were tested





# ROMAIN ROLLAND, 1914-1919

by the severest mental persecutions, at times threatening to become physical. Out of torture and hatred emerged, still finer, more admired, and forever beloved, the great and free soul of the international Rolland.

# ROBERT BOLAND, 1874-1915

by the severest mental tortures, at times  
 threatened to become physical. Out of fortune and  
 health emerged, still finer, more refined, and fir-  
 mer below, the great and free soul of the inter-  
 national Boland.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## WORKS OF ROLLAND

Above the Battle

Au-dessus de la Melee

by Romain Rolland

Translated by C. K. Ogden, M. A., Editor of the  
Cambridge Magazine

Second Edition

Published by The Open Court Publishing Company,  
Chicago and London 1916.

L'Ame Enchantée \*\*\*1. Annette et Sylvie

by Romain Rolland

Vingt-quatrième Edition

Published by Librairie Ollendorff

50, Chaussee d'Antin

Copyright by Librairie Ollendorff 1922.

L'Ame Enchantée \*\*\*2. L'été

by Romain Rolland

Soixante-dix-neuvième Edition

Published by Albin Michel

22, Rue Huyghens, Paris 1923





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

L'Ame Enchantée\*\*\*3. Mère et Fils, Part I

by Romain Rolland

30e mille

Published by Albin Michel

22, Rue Huyghens, Paris, 1927.

L'Ame Enchantée\*\*\*3. Mère et Fils, Part II

by Romain Rolland

27e mille

Published by Albin Michel

22, Rue Huyghens, Paris 1927

Jean-Christophe

by Romain Rolland

1. Dawn (L'Aube) 2. Morning (Le Matin)

3. Youth (L'Adolescence) 4. Revolt (La Révolte)

Translated by Gilbert Cannan

22nd edition, Dec. 1925

Published by Henry Holt and Company

New York





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jean-Christophe\*\*\*Jean-Christophe à Paris

by Romain Rolland

1. The Market Place (La Foire sur la Place)
2. Antoinette (Antoinette) 3. The House (La Maison)

Translated by Gilbert Cannan

14th edition, Jan. 1923

Published by Henry Holt and Company

New York

Jean-Christophe\*\*\*La Fin du Voyage

by Romain Rolland

1. Love and Friendship (Les Amies)
2. The Burning Bush (Le Buisson Ardent)
3. The New Dawn (La Nouvelle Journée)

Translated by Gilbert Cannan

2nd edition, Jan. 1923

Published by Henry Holt and Company

New York

REPRODUCED FROM  
ORIGINAL



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clérambault\*\*\*Histoire d'une Conscience libre pendant  
la Guerre

by Romain Rolland

Vingt-quatrième Edition

Published by Paul Ollendorff

50, Chaussée d'Antin

Copyright by Librairie Ollendorff 1920.

Colas Breugnot\*\*\*("Bonhomme vit encore")

by Romain Rolland

Cinquante-troisième Edition

Published by Librairie Ollendorff

50, Chaussée d'Antin, Paris

Copyright 1919 in the United States of America by  
Romain Rolland

Liluli\*\*\*(Illustrations d'après les bois de Frans Masereel)

by Romain Rolland

Dix-huitième Edition

Published by Librairie Ollendorff, Paris

RECEIVED

100

17th Street

17th Street, Washington, D.C.

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street

17th Street



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Les Précurseurs

by Romain Rolland

neuvième édition

Published by Librairie Ollendorff

50 Chaussée d'Antin, Paris      Chapters I to XV, XXIX

Le Temps Viendra

by Romain Rolland

Nouvelle Edition

La première édition de cette oeuvre parut, aux "Cahiers  
de la Quinzaine", en mars 1903.

Published by Paul Ollendorff

50, Chaussée d'Antin, Paris

## BIOGRAPHIES

Romain Rolland

Sa Vie, son Oeuvre

by Jean Bonnerot

Document pour l'histoire de la littérature française.

Edition du Carnet-Critique

208, rue de la Convention, 1921.

Omitting Pages 28-51, 66-69, 92-99.

STATIONERY

See Table

by the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

STATIONERY

See Table

by the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following

of the following



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Romain Rolland Vivant, 1914-1919

by Pierre-Jean Jouve

Cinquième édition

Published by Librairie Paul Ollendorff

50, Chaussée d'Antin, Paris

Copyright by P. J. Jouve, 1920.

Romain Rolland

L'Homme et l'Oeuvre

by Paul Seippel

Published by Librairie Ollendorff, Paris

Librairie Payot et Cie., Lausanne.

Romain Rolland

The Man and His Work

by Stefan Zweig

Translated from the original manuscript by Eden and  
Cedar Paul

Published by Thomas Seltzer, New York 1921.

Part II. Omitting Chapters III to XVIII, XIX

Part III. Omitted.

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Liber Amicorum Romain Rolland

Copyright 1926 by Rotapfel-Verlag Zurich und Leipsig

Maxim Gorki

Georges Duhamel

Stefan Zweig

Page 67. Ernest Bloch.

Page 102. Valentin Boulgakoff. La Rencontre avec Romain  
Rolland. Pages 93-106.

Page 136. Gustave Dupin. Pages 134-137.

Pages 165, 167, 169. Pierre Hamp. Pages 164-169.

Pages 175-179. Félicitations d'Extrême-Orient pour le  
Soixantième Anniversaire de la Naissance  
de Romain Rolland.

Page 217. Selma Lagerlof.

Pages 218-221. Jean Christophe en Argonne à la fin de  
1915 avant de descendre aux enfers  
puis de monter au ciel. Page 221.

Page 251. Mathias Morhardt.

Pages 252-255. Romain Rolland and the Orient. Page 255.

Pages 348-350. An Appreciation to Romain Rolland.

Page. 349.

Pages 390-393. Salut Egyptien au Grand Ecrivain Français  
Romain Rolland.





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Saga Symphonic of Romain Rolland

by Lucien Price

Atlantic Monthly, January 1926.

Pages 70-82.

Romain Rolland

by Alvan F. Sanborn

Century, August 1913.

Volume 86.

Pages 512-518.

Arch-Pacifist of the modern world.

Portrait

Current Opinion, February 1922.

Volume 72.

Pages 216-218.

Italian defence of Romain Rolland

Current Opinion, March 1916.

Volume 60.

Page 195.

WILSON

WILSON

WILSON

by Wilson

Atlantic Monthly, January 1912

Pages 70-72

WILSON

by Wilson

Atlantic Monthly, January 1912

Pages 70-72

Pages 70-72

WILSON

by Wilson

Atlantic Monthly, January 1912

Pages 70-72

Pages 70-72

WILSON

by Wilson

Atlantic Monthly, January 1912

Pages 70-72



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Romain Rolland's dream of a new International, review  
of Clérambault

Current Opinion, November 1921.

Volume 71.

Pages 652-654.

Voice of a Frenchman who refuses to hate the Germans

Current Opinion, June 1916.

Volume 60.

Pages 421-422.

Above the battle

Dial, March 16, 1916.

Volume 60.

Pages 277-279.

Attacks on Romain Rolland and Comte de Gobineau

Dial, January 20, 1916.

Volume 60.

Pages 52-54.

LIBRARY

Journal of the American Medical Association

Vol. 51, No. 1

January 1951

Page 1

Page 2

Journal of the American Medical Association

Vol. 51, No. 1

Page 1

Page 2

Journal of the American Medical Association

Vol. 51, No. 1

Page 1

Page 2

Journal of the American Medical Association

Vol. 51, No. 1

Page 1

Page 2



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Romain Rolland as a critic

by Edward E. Hale

Dial, February 17, 1916.

Volume 60.

Pages 167-169.

Romain Rolland after the war

by Stephan Zweig

Dial, May 1924.

Volume 76.

Pages 445-448.

Author above the battle

Literary Digest, July 27, 1918.

Volume 58.

Page 23.

Frances latest religious teacher

Literary Digest, March 14, 1914.

Volume 48.

Page 558.

RECEIVED

ROMAN RELIGION IN A CLASS

by Edward E. Ellis

First, published in 1916

Volume 1

Pages 1-100

ROMAN RELIGION AFTER THE WAR

by Stephen Lewis

First, published in 1924

Volume 2

Pages 101-200

AUTHOR ABOVE THE WORLD

Literary Digest, July 25, 1916

Volume 3

Page 21

ROMAN RELIGION IN THE CLASS

Literary Digest, March 14, 1917

Volume 4

Page 22



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Harried idealists of Europe

Portrait

Literary Digest, November 25, 1916.

Volume 53.

Pages 1408-1409.

Romain Rolland as a neutral

Literary Digest, December 25, 1915.

Volume 51.

Pages 1477-1478.

Rolland's cry for peace

Literary Digest, January 9, 1915.

Volume 50.

Page 60.

Rolland to Hauptmann

Literary Digest, October 10, 1914.

Volume 49.

Page 688.

100

100

Section 100 of the

100

100

100

100

Section 100 of the

100

100

100

Section 100 of the

100

100

100

Section 100 of the

100

100

100



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Romain Rolland in a new vein

Literary Digest, August 7, 1920.

Volume 66.

Page 39.

In defence of Romain Rolland

Nation, November 23, 1916.

Volume 103.

Pages 484-486.

Position of Romain Rolland

Nation, February 10, 1916.

Volume 102.

Supplement, pages 6-7.

Romain Rolland testifies

Nation, September 28, 1927.

Volume 125.

Pages 306-307.

Romain Rolland

by W. A. Drake

Sewanee Review, October 1924.

Volume 32.

Pages 386-404.



STILLBORN

Journal of the American Medical Association

Literary Digest, August 1, 1900.

Volume 25.

Page 53.

Journal of the American Medical Association

Literary Digest, November 22, 1901.

Volume 103.

Pages 404-405.

Journal of the American Medical Association

Literary Digest, February 1, 1910.

Volume 100.

Pages 1-7.

Journal of the American Medical Association

Literary Digest, September 2, 1911.

Volume 101.

Pages 404-405.

Journal of the American Medical Association

Volume 102.

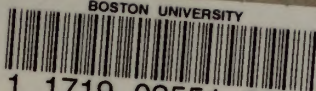
Literary Digest, October 1912.

Volume 102.

Pages 104-105.



BOSTON UNIVERSITY



1 1719 02551 7261

